The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 1886.

The Week.

THE Democratic platform of 1884 pledged the party to "revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests," on the principle, however, that "all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government." The Republican platform of the same year in like manner "pledged the party to correct the irregularities of the tariff . . . . by such methods as would relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country." So that both parties acknowledged that there were irregularities in the tariff which ought to be corrected, and pledged themselves to correct them; and that the duties levied by the tariff were too high, and ought in some cases at least to be reduced, and pledged themselves to reduce them.

It is now just two years since these pledges were made; Congress has sat for two winters, and nothing has been done to redeem the pledges by either party. Revising bills have been introduced each winter by the Democratic Committee of Ways and Means, have been more or less debated, and then unceremoniously voted down. On Thursday the last of these bills came up, at the end of a long session, on the question, not whether it should pass, but whether it should be considered, and even consideration was denied to it by a vote of 140 to 157. The opposition to consideration was made by 122 Republicans and 35 Democrats, while it was supported by 136 Democrats and 4 Republicans. It will thus be seen that if the Democrats had kept their pledges, or shown any desire to do so, a revision of the tariff would, as far as the House could do it, have taken place. If the Republicans had kept theirs, the revision of the tariff would have been at least discussed, and the voters would have ascertained what, from the Republican point of view, the "irregularities of the tariff" spoken of in the platform were, and by what "process" the party proposed to reduce the surplus instead of "the vicious and undiscriminating process of horizontal reduction," and what "the methods" were which would "relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country." Regarding all these things the country is now as much in the dark as ever. The irregularities in the tariff are admitted on all sides, but there appears to be no power in the nation capable of correcting them. Neither party seems to be willing to become responsible for any useful legislation. Beyond a lavish distribution of pensions, and a bootless quarrel with the President about nominations to office, Congress has nothing in either house to show for its salaries, or for the trouble and expense of electing it. Moreover, it appears to be clear now that, no matter what a man's views on the tariff may be, he can do nothing to carry them out by voting for either party. Both refuse to touch the tariff at all.

A fortnight ago the House rejected a motion to starve out the Civil-Service Commission by refusing to make appropriation for their salaries, only 18 members out of 325 voting for it. On Friday the Senate voted to postpone indefinitely, which is equivalent to rejecting, a bill to repeal the Civil-Service Law, only 6 members out of 76 recording themselves in the negative. To understand what these overwhelming defeats of the spoilsmen in the two branches of Congress mean, one must recall the fact that only a dozen years ago a Republican House, with but little opposition, refused to make any allowance for the expenses of the Commission appointed by President Grant, and thus for some time blocked the progress of the movement. Even the spoilsmen at last appreciate that the reform "has come to stay," and only the blindest politicians any longer venture to fight it. Nothing more fortunate for the cause could possibly have happened than the recent assaults upon the merit system by Mr. Randall in the House and Mr. Vance in the Senate. They have provoked a discussion of the subject by the press, which has shown that the Democratic voters heartily support the President, and have no patience with his assailants, and that, in the words of the Galveston *News*, the leading Democratic paper of the strongest Democratic State in the Union, "any interference with the reform law, except in a spirit of progress, and to extend its efficiency, would be considered odious by the country." The President proposes to meet this popular demand for an extension of the law's efficiency, and the announcement that the rules will soon be so revised as to widen the scope of the competitive system, is only a proper response to a popular demand. It would thus appear that the "clean sweep" so often announced by the *Sun*, and for which, according to the "gentleman who claims to know the facts," all the preparations were recently made, has again been indefinitely postponed.

Mr. Springer made a speech in the House the other day on the treatment of the civil service by the present Administration, in which he said, apropos of the charges of partisanship and "clean sweep" made against Col. Black, the present Commissioner of Pensions, that the late Commissioner of Pensions, Col. Dudley, took the eligible list furnished him by the Civil-Service Commission, and appointed from it for one year eighty-five special examiners, all Republicans. The remainder of the 150 provided for by the law of 1884 had been taken by promotions from among those already in the service. In 1885 Col. Black came in, and the term of these 150 expired during the year. Seventy-five of the vacancies, Mr. Springer says, Col. Black filled from those already in office. For the remainder he drew on the list of eligibles of the Civil-Service Commission, which sent in to him (Col. Black) the whole list, without reference to the rule confining the choice for each vacancy to the first four names on the list. It is charged, and we believe admitted, that he filled seventy-one of the remaining seventy-five vacancies with Democrats. Mr. Springer's defence of this is that, in doing so, he did no worse than Col. Dudley had done. This may be true, but if it be, it is true also that when he selected these candidates because they were Democrats, he violated both the spirit and letter of the law; but the Commissioners connived at, and indeed facilitated his offence, by sending him in indiscriminately the whole list of eligibles. The case is a good and useful illustration of the way in which the Randall rider would have worked.

Mr. Springer gives a most tantalizing list of good fat offices in the classified list still held by Republican appointees. We may as well say, however, for the information of lazy, good-for-nothing Democratic politicians, that they are all or nearly all offices requiring special training of some kind, such as a rockribbed Democrat or a political "worker" hardly ever possesses. There is also a formidable list of Presidential offices not covered by the Civil-Service Law, to which Mr. Cleveland has not made new appointments. We will not say what the number is, because it would excite the bad passions of tens of thousands of worthless Democrats, and perhaps prevent their making another attempt to take up some line of honest industry. Suffice it to say that their number is such as to furnish a striking proof of the President's resistance to the abuses of the old system.

Gov. Robinson of Massachusetts has done the whole country a service by the forcible and effective way in which he has frustrated the attack of the demoralized Republicans of that State on the State Civil-Service Law. There, as at Washington, "the soldier element" is used to breed and spread a spirit of hostility to all reform, and a disregard of the condition of the public service.

The President sent another batch of vetoes to the Senate on Monday. One of them stopped a bill which was almost a grotesque illustration of the carelessness with which Congress passes these measures. It directed the name of a soldier's widow to be placed on the pension roll, subject to the pension laws. It turns out now that her name *is* on the pension roll under the law already, and has been there since February of this year, her pension dating from November of last year; so that the bill seems to have been drafted and passed in sheer ignorance of the facts of the widow's case. To send up such a bill for the President's signature is, of course, to say the least, disrespectful. Another of these bills puts on the pension roll the widow of a commodore in the navy who died of heart disease ten years after the war, and her application had been already rejected by the Pension Bureau because of her failure to show that the disease of which her husband died had any connection with the war. Another gives a soldier, already in receipt of a pension, $9,000 of back pension, for a period of fifteen years, during which he had made no claim on

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account of incapacity from disease, and removes the limit of time fixed by the law of 1879, or in other words repeals it for the benefit of this one man. Another gives a widow a pension on account of the death of her husband from inflammation of the stomach ten years after the war, and disregards the fact that her application is pending before the Bureau. Another provides for the erection of United States buildings at a cost of $100,000, at Sioux City, Iowa, not because the business of the Government at that point calls for them, but because the population is growing rapidly, and there is already a considerable number of other buildings in the town. Another orders a "substantial and commodious public building, with fire-proof vaults," at a cost of $100,000, with an open space around it to protect it from adjacent fires, which is to provide accommodation for the post-office, and internal revenue office, and pension office, at Zanesville, Ohio, though the only Federal office in the place is the post-office.

The Republican Senate did a good piece of work on Friday in passing the joint resolution providing for the submission to the States of a Constitutional amendment extending the period of the President's term and the session of the Fiftieth Congress until April 30, 1889, and substituting April 30 for March 4 as the beginning in future of the Presidential and Congressional terms. The Democratic House should promptly concur, and thus send the amendment to the Legislatures of the various States, which will undoubtedly ratify it. The measure is non-partisan; there are sound arguments in its favor, and no valid objections to it, and its adoption would fittingly commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Washington's original inauguration.

The way in which the Canadians have behaved to Blaine, Frye, Butler, and the Gloucester fishermen is one of the basest acts of treachery in political annals. As our readers know, they issued on the 1st of May an order forbidding foreign vessels to come within the three-mile limit for any purposes but shelter, repairs, and obtaining wood and water. American ships could not under this order obtain bait or other supplies, or men. This was a most useful arrangement to the Maine politicians, and they prepared to base on it a beautiful and stirring war with Great Britain, which would revive industry, ruin the Administration, enrich our fishermen, and give the White House to its rightful owners. Blaine, Frye, Hale, Reed, and all of them wanted war, and war to the knife. They were going to arm themselves and all their neighbors, and fight eight hours a day, but with a half holiday on Saturdays, until Canada crawled on her belly and England was brought to her knees. Now what have the Canadians done, after considerable expense had been incurred on our side, but rescind the order, and issue another allowing Americans to get everything they please within the three-mile limit as long as they do not stay over twenty-four hours? The baseness and cunning of this does not call for comment from us. It deprives the fishery issue of all value in our politics at one stroke, and without a cent of compensation to its owners.

The failure to punish Mr. Edmunds in Vermont for his conduct towards Mr. Blaine during the canvass of 1884, is one of the numerous bad signs which have attended the reproduction of the latter gentleman's "boom." Nothing would have been more effective in support of Mr. Blaine's claims at the Convention of 1888 than such proof as Mr. Edmunds's loss of the Senatorship would have afforded, of the danger of doubting Mr. Blaine's value as a Presidential candidate. In fact, what is most of all needed to make his reappearance really successful is a striking example of ruin overtaking some Republican politicians who opposed him, or failed to support him cordially, or else of Mugwumps really sorry for having opposed him, and honest enough to confess it. Thus far nothing of the kind has appeared. In fact, we have never heard of any evil consequences to any Republican for not supporting or for opposing the Republican nomination of 1884, except the cancelling of some lecture engagements which had been made with Mr. Schurz and Mr. Beecher, in very rabid districts, and these demonstrations occurred immediately after the election. To-day we presume their authors are rather ashamed of them. Not one Mugwump has come forward to say that if he had known in 1884 what he knows now, he never would have voted for Mr. Cleveland. We have never heard or read of such a person. On the other hand, we presume everybody has dozens of persons within the circle of his acquaintance who are willing to confess that the political reasons which led them to swallow Mr. Blaine's unsavory personal character were not well founded, and would not again influence their judgment.

The Vermont Republicans seem to have found it pretty hard to get proofs of Democratic unfitness to control the Government. Their platform cites as evidence that the Democratic party is opposed to civil-service reform, the fact that a "rider practically annulling the civil-service rules was attached bya Democratic committee to an important appropriation bill," although, as everybody knows, the rider was rejected, and a motion to starve out the Commission by refusing to appropriate for their salaries, such as Gen. Butler carried through a Republican House a dozen years ago, received only eighteen votes. The platform also condemns the "extravagant appropriations made by the Democratic House," although the truth is that the extravagant legislation of the session has been initiated in the Republican Senate, which passed by large majorities Mr. Blair's $77,000,000 Educational Subsidy Bill and his Pension Bill, which would take out of the Treasury anywhere from $50,000,000 to $200,000,000 a year —the Vermont Senators in each case being recorded among the majority.

The Tennessee Republicans were very frank in their treatment of the prohibition question at their recent convention. A platform was reported in which there was a resolution favoring the submission to the people of a prohibitory constitutional amendment. There was a lively debate upon this, and the outcome of it was the adoption of the following as a substitute: "Resolved, That the Republican party of the State of Tennessee recognize the right of the people to have the prohibition amendment voted upon at the ballot-box." This resolution was the production of Congressman Houk, who made a speech explaining its purport, in which he said: "I believe in the right of the people to vote on this subject if they want to. I tried to make the resolution look both ways, to straddle. It is the people's prerogative. When you look in it you don't say which side is right." This speech was received with uproarious laughter, and the resolution was regarded as a fine bait for prohibition votes. That there may be no question of Mr. Houk's party orthodoxy, we quote the following sentence from his speech at the opening of the convention:

"Suppose Jim Blaine had been elected. [Continued applause.] If James G. Blaine and John A. Logan [cheers] had been elected and either occupied the White House to-day, would we have what is virtually civil war in strikes in so many parts of the country?"

Ohio is making another experiment at regulation of the liquor traffic. The State Constitution prohibits the licensing of the business, and the difficulty has been to place any restriction upon the traffic which did not amount to a license in the eye of the law. Two attempts of this sort in recent years have been overruled by the Supreme Court, but the last Legislature made another trial which it is hoped will stand the test of the courts, the present law imposing a reasonable tax upon the saloon-keeper. The liquor-dealers at first talked about resisting the enforcement of the law, upon the plea that it had not been legally adopted, as the Senate which adopted it had not a quorum by reason of the absence of the Democratic members, who, it will be remembered, left their seats and ran out of the State. The Supreme Court, however, has just decided that the Senate was legally constituted when it passed the law, and the saloon-keepers appear generally disposed to accept the situation. Ohio has had a sad experience with liquor legislation during the past decade, and it will be a great thing for the State if it has at last got an efficient system of restricting the traffic.

There has been a good deal of discussion as to whether the prohibition law is enforced in the State of Maine. The Prohibitionists of Maine cannot be suspected of a disposition to misrepresent the facts to the disadvantage of the policy which they advocate. The platform just adopted by the Prohibition State Convention at Portland says: "In Portland, Bangor, Biddeford, Lewiston, Bath, Augusta, Hallowell, and other cities and towns of the State, so far from the impartial enforcement of the law being adhered to from principle, the law is enforced or not as the personal will of the officer or party exigencies demand."

The Massachusetts Senate has closed the Field trouble by adopting unanimously the

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House resolution giving Mr. Field "leave to withdraw." It appears, too, that four members of the Committee which signed the report pronouncing both the Governor and Mr. Field blameless, were seduced into that absurdity by being told untruly that all parties would be satisfied with this result, and they now regret their action. In the Senate the affair was fully ventilated, with the above consequence. Mr. James G. Blaine, too, appears to have taken a hand in the matter, and suffers through Mr. Field's failure. There is a rumor from London that Mr. Field has telegraphed from that city that he is going now to bring a libel suit. But he will only do this to keep himself in good standing with Canon Farrar while he is in England. He will not push the suit after he comes home.

The workingmen are finding out by bitter experience that professional "friends of labor" are their worst enemies. In all parts of the country, strikers who resorted to boycotting and violence to enforce their demands are being fined and sent to the penitentiary. Even the high dignitaries of the Knights of Labor are not exempted from the rigor of the law. The other day a Master Workman of a district assembly of Knights at Pacific, Missouri, was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary and fined $500 for trying to wreck a freight train during the strike. On Thursday at Pittsburgh, twenty-four coal miners who had assaulted non-union men, and committed other offences during a strike, were sentenced to eight months' imprisonment in the county workhouse. Fourteen of them are married men. One of their leaders thus bewails his fate: "The idea that I have to spend eight months of my short life in the workhouse in company with felons and criminals of every class, away from my sick wife and helpless family of eight children, makes me shudder. Particularly is it so when I consider that my crime, if crime it was, was that of presiding over a mass meeting at which I scarcely expressed an opinion. We may well ask: Where are our boasted liberties?" He has learned that this is a land of law as well as of liberty, but he does not seem to have realized yet that every man who breaks a law, whatever his motive in doing so, is a criminal. The idea that the cause of labor was so sacred that the laws of the land could be violated with impunity in its name, has, we trust, been severely shaken among the laboring classes as well as in the newspaper offices.

Some speculators in Confederate bonds recently tried to get up a "boom" by hiring a New York lawyer to go before a Congressional committee and with a serious face make an argument for the payment of the bonds by the Federal Government. The bloody-shirt organs hailed the performance with the greatest enthusiasm, and some of the more sanguine apparently expected to carry the fall elections upon this issue. Unfortunately for these plans, however, the Southern press refuses to take the matter seriously, the Richmond (Va.) *Dispatch*, a thoroughly representative paper, declaring that "talk about the payment of Confederate bonds is 'unmitigated rot.'" When the "rebels" themselves ridicule the idea of paying "rebel claims," even the most stupid of Republican organs must realize that this issue is unavailable.

The opponents of compulsory prayer at Harvard College have at last won a victory in securing the concurrence of the Board of Overseers with the Faculty in ordering its abolition, with the support of the Plummer Professor of Christian Morals and the college preachers. A more curious example of the power of conservatism it would be hard to find anywhere than the stubbornness with which this change has been opposed by the Overseers. The only argument against it which would bear a moment's examination was the probability that the respect for religion on the part of his elders shown in compelling a young man to go to prayers, whether he wished it or not, would somehow, after a while, make such an impression on him that he too would begin to respect religion; but there was probably hardly a man in the Board who did not know, as a matter of personal experience, that it was worthless. Of course the notion that the Deity would be pleased or placated, and induced to pour out blessings on the University or any individual member of it, by having a few hundred youths forced every week, under temporal penalties, into a house of worship, to listen, in a thoroughly irreverent and rebellious state of mind, to some one else praying, would not bear examination at all.

The *Times* says:

"Our contemporary, the *Sun*, is making war upon the indecent photographs and lithographs so plentifully exhibited in the windows of cigar stores. Its criticisms are just and proper. These pictures are becoming more and more immodest. They are not a legitimate advertisement, for it cannot be shown that they increase the sale of cigars and cigarettes; and they offend the public sense of decency."

The vendors of indecent photographs and lithographs have, however, exactly the same arguments in their favor as the vendors of minute "worked up" accounts of rapes, seductions, elopements, and scandals of all kinds. What these last plead in their own defence is that the public demands this sort of thing, and that it, therefore, increases "sales." We feel quite sure that the indecent photograph men have the same excuse. They do not exhibit their wares for pleasure, but for profit, and they find their account in it. They have probably learned that decent photographs and lithographs sell only moderately, while the indecent ones go off like hot cakes. They are therefore in precisely the same category with the indecent newspaper men. The *Sun*, which printed the filthy revelations of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, is a funny critic of the poor fellows who exhibit the indecent lithographs. Men and brethren, as Horace Greeley used to say, are not these things sickening?

Mr. Gladstone has, all accounts agree, opened the campaign most auspiciously. His worst enemies admit that they did not look for anything like the popular enthusiasm which his presence everywhere calls forth. He has put the Tories on the defensive from the first moment by laying hold of Lord Salisbury's foolish abuse of the Irish as no better fitted for self-government than "the Hottentots," and his proposal that they should be coerced for twenty years before receiving even a modified control of their own affairs. This has furnished Mr. Gladstone with his electioneering cry—"Salisbury and Coercion, or Gladstone and Conciliation." Accordingly, Lord Salisbury is now trying to explain every day that coercion is not what he meant; but it is very awkward to open an excited canvass with a protest against misconstruction. Mr. Gladstone also has performed on the Whigs and on the Chamberlainites the process known, in our slang, as "putting them in a hole"; that is, he has frankly abandoned his bill. He says it dies with the present Parliament as a matter of course, and all that the constituencies have to decide is whether Ireland is to have a Legislature of her own, and whether Mr. Gladstone is to be charged with framing a new measure for that purpose. Now a large number of the Whigs and all the Chamberlainites are committed already to the principle of home rule, and are estopped by long service under him from denying Gladstone's ability to deal with the question, if the constituencies desire it to be dealt with. It was the bill they attacked, and, the bill being now gone, they will, if they continue the contest, be reduced to the necessity of opposing home rule on the stump and denouncing Gladstone for proposing it in any shape.

The reported lack of funds and candidates among the Gladstonian Liberals is rather alarming for them. In England the election expenses are rigidly fixed by law, and anything beyond the legal maximum exposes the candidate not only to the loss of his seat on a trial before the courts, but possibly to a term of imprisonment. But they are nevertheless so heavy that a poor man cannot face them without assistance. In a borough, if the number of electors on the register does not exceed 2,000, the candidate may spend for all purposes, except personal expenses and the returning officer's fees, $1,750. If the number exceeds 2,000, then $150 for every additional complete 1,000. In Ireland the candidate is allowed to spend on a somewhat more liberal scale—that is, $1,000 for 500 electors, and $1,250 for any number between 500 and 1,000, and $1,375 for any number between 1,000 and 1,500. In the counties where the number of electors does not exceed 2,000, the candidate may spend $3,250 in England and Scotland, and $2,500 in Ireland. If the number exceeds 2,000, then he may spend $3,550 in England and Scotland, and $2,700 in Ireland, and an additional $300 in England and Scotland, and an additional $200 in Ireland, for every complete 1,000 electors over 2,000. In all these cases the things on which the money may be spent are rigidly defined. Now, the Tories and Whigs are not nearly as rich as they were, but they are still far better able to supply money and candidates to meet these demands than the Radicals or Home-Rulers are, and they make no secret of the fact that they rely on their superior money power to save "the unity of the empire"

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SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, June 16, to TUESDAY, June 22, 1886, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC

THE Senate on Friday by a vote of 33 to 6 indefinitely postponed Mr. Vance's bill to repeal the Civil-Service Law. Of the thirty-three yeas eight were cast by Democrats. The nays were by Berry, Call, Eustis, Harris, Jones of Nevada, and Vance. Had they not been paired Beck, Kenna, and Saulsbury would have joined these six. The Senate passed Mr. Frye's bill "for the encouragement of the American merchant marine and to promote postal and commercial relations with foreign countries." This is the proposition to subsidize American vessels carrying the United States mails. The Senate also, by a two-thirds vote, passed the joint resolution introduced by Mr. Ingalls providing for the submission to the several States of a Constitutional amendment extending the period of the President's term and the session of the Fiftieth Congress until April 30, 1889, and substituting April 30 for March 4 as the commencement in future of the Presidential and Congressional terms.

The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs has finally reported favorably on the nomination of Morris A. Thomas to be Indian Inspector.

The House on Wednesday added a clause to the Legislative Appropriation Bill increasing the pay of the scrubwomen employed in public buildings throughout the country from $15 to $20 a month, and giving them a vacation with pay for thirty days each year.

In the House on Thursday Mr. Morrison moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole to consider the revenue bills. In answer to Mr. McKinley he stated that his purpose was to consider the general Tariff Bill. Thereupon Mr. McKinley said that he concurred with Mr. Morrison in his demand for the yeas and nays, and the Speaker ordered the clerk to call the roll. Mr. Morrison's motion to go into Committee of the Whole was defeated; yeas 140, nays 157. Messrs. Hewitt, Adams, Belmont, Beach, Felix Campbell, James, and Mahoney of the New York Democratic delegation voted for consideration, and Messrs. Arnot, Bliss, Tim. Campbell, Davenport, Dowdney, Merriman, Muller, Spriggs, Stahlnecker, Viele, and Pindar voted in the negative. The Speaker voted for consideration. Great applause greeted the announcement. Mr. Morrison gave notice that he would renew his motion on Tuesday, and Mr. McKinley stated that the opponents of the bill would be on hand. Thirty-three Democrats in all voted against consideration.

In the House on Friday Mr. Kelley (Rep., Pa.) read another important letter from the late Secretary Stanton to the Rev. H. Dyer. In it he said: "In respect to any combination by Mr. Chase, Mr. Seward, and myself against Gen. McClellan, it is utterly false. For reasons not necessary to mention, fire and water would as soon combine. Each does his duty as he deems right. In respect to the imputation of selfish or ambitious motives denial is needless. Those who make the imputation do it ignorant of my principles of action or with prejudiced feelings, and, like all other public men, I must expect and patiently bear misconstruction and false report. In respect to the present condition of affairs, all I can say is that the whole power of the Government is being put forth with more vigor, and, I think, more earnestness, on the part of military commanders, than at any former period. Treason is encouraged in the Northern States by the just discontent of the people. But believing our national destiny is as immediately in the hands of the Most High as ever were the Children of Israel, I am not only undismayed, but full of hope."

The President sent to the House on Saturday the Dingley Shipping Bill, with the Frye amendment, approved. He accompanied it with a message calling attention to some omissions in the bill which would prevent the First Comptroller from auditing some of the necessary expenses under the law, and suggesting supplementary legislation. Mr. Dingley and Mr. Frye are confident that the supplemental legislation will be enacted without opposition.

The House passed the Naval Appropriation Bill on Monday. The Senate disagreed with the House amendments to the Army, and Consular and Diplomatic bills.

The conference of Democratic Representatives in Washington, on Monday night, to secure action on the tariff, voted, on motion of Mr. Morrison, to appoint a committee of one Representative from each State that furnished Democratic votes for the motion to consider the Tariff Bill, to formulate an address to the country explaining the position of the party, and to secure votes for the consideration of the tariff measure. Mr. Morrison did not move to call up his bill on Tuesday, anticipating inevitable defeat.

It is said that Mr. Randall has prepared a bill reducing the tariff in accordance with his own protection ideas.

President Cleveland on Monday sent fifteen vetoes to Congress, most of them referring to private pension bills. In one of them he says: "With the Pension Bureau fully equipped and regulated by the most liberal rules, in active operation, supplemented in its work by constant special legislation, it certainly is not unreasonable to suppose that in all the years that have elapsed since the close of the war, the majority of the meritorious claims for pensions have been presented and determined. I have now more than 130 of these bills before me awaiting Executive action. It will be impossible to bestow upon them all the examination they deserve, and many will probably become operative which should be rejected. In the meantime I venture to suggest the significance of the startling increase in this kind of legislation, and the consequences involved in its continuance." In vetoing the Senate bill to provide for a public building in Zanesville, Ohio, he says: "While a fine Government building is a desirable ornament to any town or city, and while the securing of an appropriation therefor is often considered as an illustration of zeal and activity in the interest of a constituency, I am of the opinion that the expenditure of public money for such a purpose should depend upon the necessity of such a building for public uses."

The Tennessee Republicans on Wednesday nominated Alfred A. Taylor for Governor. The platform favors the passage of the Blair bill, the protection of American labor, and a protective tariff, and demands the repeal of the internal-revenue system, that corporations shall pay their employees in money and not in scrip and merchandise, and favors a better mechanics' lien law and home rule for Ireland.

The Vermont Republican State Convention on Wednesday nominated Ebenezer J. Ormsbee for Governor on the first ballot. It was a victory for the Edmunds men in the Convention.

The Maine Prohibition Convention on Thursday nominated Aaron Clark, a farmer, for Governor.

The Massachusetts Senate has voted in favor of the House resolve giving Cyrus W. Field leave to withdraw by 26 to none.

Gov. Robinson of Massachusetts on Monday vetoed the bill exempting soldiers from the provisions of the Massachusetts Civil-Service Act.

The Harvard Overseers, after a protracted debate on Wednesday, concluded action on the prayer petition. They voted to concur with the President and Fellows in their action as follows: "Voted, on the unanimous recommendation of the Plummer Professor and the preachers to the University, that the statute numbered 15, concerning religious services, be amended by striking out the clause by which the attendance of students is required."

The statue of Daniel Webster presented to the State of New Hampshire by Mr. Benjamin Pierce Cheney of Boston was dedicated on Thursday at Concord with imposing civic and military ceremonies.

Edwin Percy Whipple died on Wednesday of pneumonia. He was born in Gloucester, Mass., on March 18, 1819, and in early life was a bank clerk in Boston. He became Superintendent of the reading room of the Merchants' Exchange at its foundation, and continued to hold the position until 1860. A poem which he delivered before the Library Association in 1840 was full of humor, and made a decided hit. In 1843 he published his essay on Macaulay, which secured from the historian a letter expressing high regard. He contributed a number of essays to the *North American Review*, *Christian Examiner*, and other publications which were collected in book form. Mr. Whipple was some years ago one of the most popular lecturers in the field, and as such journeyed all through the Middle and Northern States. Whipple's published works include 'Essays and Reviews' (2 vols., 1848), 'Lectures on Subjects Connected with Literature and Life' (1849), a 'Life of Macaulay' prefixed to an edition of his essays (1860), 'Character and Characteristic Men' (1867), 'The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth,' a course of lectures delivered in 1859 before the Lowell Institute (1869), and a new volume of essays (1871). There is a comparatively new edition of his works in six volumes.

Benjamin Moran, ex-United States Minister to Portugal, died in Essex County, England, on Monday, at the age of sixty-six. He was Secretary of Legation in London from 1854 to 1874.

FOREIGN.

Mr. Gladstone left London on Thursday morning on his campaign journey to Midlothian. The scenes at the station were unparalleled in enthusiasm. When Mr. Gladstone arrived at Edinburgh 40,000 people lined the route from the railway station to the hotel. He was cheered incessantly. At all the towns on the way enormous crowds greeted him. At Carlisle Mr. Gladstone made a speech, in which he said that he should like to ask Lord Carnarvon what he told Mr. Parnell in the interview at Dublin, and to whom he imparted the conversation. If Lord Carnarvon knew his duty as a Cabinet Minister, he must have revealed the conversation to Lord Salisbury. It would have been treachery for him to hold such talk with a person in Mr. Parnell's position, and not tell Lord Salisbury. He (Gladstone) should therefore feel convinced that Lord Carnarvon did his duty until the latter should deny that he repeated the conversation. It was necessary for the nation to be exactly informed on this subject.

In Music Hall, Edinburgh, on Friday evening, Mr. Gladstone spoke before a very large and enthusiastic audience. He spoke for an hour and a half, and at the end of the speech a vote of confidence in him was carried unanimously. In the course of his address he said: "Well, gentlemen, the real rival policy is coercion. We won't quarrel about the word, but it means a policy of special repressive criminal legislation for Ireland to the exclusion of the remainder of Great Britain. You must choose between a policy of coercion and a policy of conciliation. Lord Salisbury describes my reference to his policy of twenty years' coercion as one of the most deliberate misstatements on record. Well, I hold by it; I mean to hold by it, I mean to repeat it, I mean to impress it upon the country, and I mean that the country shall fairly have the means of coming to an issue on it, and to know whether it is true or false. The Salisbury Government on the 26th of January announced in both houses a policy of coercion in Ireland. The Queen's speech, which had previously heralded such announcement of the intention to use the severest measures to re-

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press the National League, was received by the Tories with frantic cheers, which rang long and loud. Lord Salisbury may deny that he advocated coercion, but his own words and acts prove that he did. He vainly endeavors to escape, but he is caught in a net wherein he is inextricably coiled. His other alternatives are simply quicksands, ever slipping, ever vanishing. Do not, gentlemen, do not stand upon those quicksands, however imposingly named. There are only two policies before the country, and it remains with you to decide between them."

Mr. Gladstone addressed another large and enthusiastic public meeting in Edinburgh on Monday. He asked: "What would you think, gentlemen, if on any subject vitally touching your interests, sixty of your seventy-two representatives with one voice made a distinct demand in behalf of Scotland—in respect to which it was clear that the interests of the empire were not threatened—what would you think of the rejection of that measure?" Mr. Gladstone spoke in Glasgow on Tuesday and then returned to England.

Lord Salisbury spoke at Leeds on Friday evening to an audience of 5,000. In his speech he said: "We may say that criminal law is all coercion. If Mr. Gladstone is opposed to it, we must presume that he sympathizes with criminals against whom efforts are being made. Our coercion, which he denounces, was directed against robbery, murder, mutilation, terrorism, and a system of organized intimidation which made life bitter to thousands of innocent persons. I wonder if he ever thought for a moment what following our Cabinet by an anti-coercion Cabinet meant. All we desire is that the law be sufficiently business-like and efficacious to carry out its own behests. Coercion means nothing else in our mouths, and to compare that with the coercion that Mr. Gladstone exercised at Kilmainham is a mere juggle upon words. You ask whether I am prepared to answer the demand for local government in Ireland. My reply is that local government and home rule have nothing whatever to do with each other. I have always advocated a good system of local government for England, Scotland, and Ireland, the essence of which is that it is under the control of the central Government and undertakes the duties consigned to it; that it passes by-laws, not laws, and should not be independent. Men can manage their local affairs better, or at least more to their taste, than those at a distance can manage for them; and they can also learn in the practice of local government their duties to the imperial Parliament. I thoroughly admit all this in the case of Ireland. But, unfortunately, Ireland is in a diseased state, and powers given her for a government might be used for oppression, or as a lever to press the imperial Government to give her possession of imperial powers. Earl Spencer warned us of this danger, and therefore I cannot treat it as chimerical, but as a subject for necessary precaution. I believe that the extension of local government to Ireland—I mean a good system—would have effect, though I fear it would take a long time of training to bring them gradually into the habits of mutual forbearance necessary for a civilized community."

Mr. Chamberlain, addressing his constituents at Birmingham on Saturday, significantly said: "Mr. Gladstone in Edinburgh said the bill was dead. If that is so, what are they fighting for? If there is a new plan, why is it not produced? It is impossible to criticise a bill lacking clauses, preamble, or schedule. I hope it will still be possible to reunite the Liberal party, and that they may find themselves agreed in the autumn upon some large measure for home rule and local government for Ireland; but I will not pledge myself blindly to accept and swallow whatever may be offered." The London *News* thinks that Mr. Chamberlain's speech indicates that he may be found supporting the Home-Rule Bill in the autumn.

Lord Hartington in his manifesto to the Rossendale electors says: "Parliament ought to continue to represent the whole and not a part of the kingdom; powers which may be conferred upon subordinate local bodies should be delegated, not surrendered; the subjects delegated should be clearly defined, and the right of Parliament to control and revise the action of subordinate legislative and administrative authorities should equally be clearly reserved; and, lastly, the administration of justice ought to remain in the hands of authority responsible to Parliament. It is asserted that such a limited measure will not satisfy Ireland; but if a majority of the people of the United Kingdom distinctly and firmly declare that they will not assent to any measure which would loosen the bonds of union, it remains to be proved whether the Irish people can be persuaded to maintain a hopeless and unnecessary contest."

Lord Randolph Churchill's manifesto takes the form of a violent attack on Mr. Gladstone, in which he says: "Mr. Gladstone has reserved for his closing days a conspiracy against the honor of Great Britain and welfare of Ireland, more startlingly base and nefarious than any of those numerous designs and plots that for a quarter of a century have occupied his imagination. Nor are the results of the repeal of the Union a matter of moment to him. No practical responsibility will fall upon his shoulders."

In a speech on Wednesday evening Earl Spencer intimated that the Land Purchase Bill would not be dropped.

Mr. Parnell will speak in a number of English and Scotch cities.

A considerable sensation was created in London on Tuesday morning by the announcement that Mr. Chamberlain and his friends of the new Birmingham caucus have put down £20,000 as a guarantee fund for the election expenses of their candidates. The Gladstonians have no such fund at their disposal.

Parliament will be prorogued on June 25, and dissolution will occur the next day.

Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, father of George Otto Trevelyan, is dead at the age of seventy-nine. He was Financial Master of India in 1862 and was created a baronet in 1874.

Honorary degrees were conferred upon Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes at Cambridge, England, on Thursday in the presence of a brilliant assemblage.

It is officially announced in London that the report that Col. Lockhart's expedition to the Afghan Boundary Commission had been captured by hostile natives was untrue.

The French Senate on Tuesday passed the Princes Expulsion Bill by a vote of 141 to 107. A decree will be immediately issued expelling the Princes.

Louis Laurent Simonin, the French surgeon and traveller, is dead at the age of fifty-six. He visited the United States a number of times and wrote much about it. Among his books are: 'The Mineral Riches of France' (1865), 'The Great West of the United States' (1869), 'The American' (1870), 'American Society' (1876), and 'Gold and Silver' (1877).

Advices from Noumea, the capital of New Caledonia, confirm a report that France has annexed the Hebrides. The officers of a French man-of-war say that the expedition landed troops and hoisted the French flag over the islands of Sandwich and Mallicollo. After establishing the military posts deemed necessary for the protection of French interests, the residents, irrespective of nationality, were informed that France had taken possession. In the House of Commons on Thursday night, Mr. James Bryce said that the Government had instructed Lord Lyons to draw the attention of M. de Freycinet to the reported hoisting of the French flag and occupation implied thereby, as well as to the excitement caused in Australia by the reported seizure. The Paris *Temps* asserts that merely temporary measures have been taken to protect French subjects. Other reports say that France has interfered in the New Hebrides because several agents of a French company were murdered there last March, and the demand of France for the surrender of the guilty persons was not complied with.

King Ludwig of Bavaria was buried on Saturday with great honors in St. Michael's Church, Munich. He left no will. Dr. Schleiss denies giving an opinion upon the King's condition. He says that the chronic inflammation of the cerebral membrane justifies the theory of Ludwig's insanity, and that the normal condition of the cerebellum explains the faculty of clear judgment possessed by the King in spite of the fact that in other respects his mind was diseased.

The Spanish Cortes, by a majority of 200 votes, has declared that no Government of Spain will ever give autonomy to Cuba.

The elections in Holland have resulted in the return of forty-seven Liberals and thirty-nine anti-Liberals. The previous Chamber was a tie.

Fifty thousand acres of crops and two villages have been destroyed by floods in Hungary

Hobart Pasha (the Hon. Augustus Charles Hobart), Marshal of the Turkish Empire, is dead. He was the third son of the Earl of Buckinghamshire and was born April 1, 1822, entering the British navy in 1836. His career was a brilliant one, and by 1862 he had risen to the rank of post-captain. In 1868 he was appointed to a high position in the navy of Turkey. A year later he was sent to Crete in command of the Turkish fleet, with unlimited powers, and obtained high praise for his conduct of delicate negotiations in the cause of general peace. On returning to Constantinople he was made by the Sultan a full Admiral, with the rank of Pasha. Soon afterwards he became Inspector-General of the Turkish Navy. In the latter position he organized the navy of the Sultan in such a manner as to bring it to a high state of efficiency, and established naval schools, with training and gunnery ships. On account of international complications his name was struck from the British navy list, at the instance of the Foreign Office, in 1867, but in 1874 he was reinstated to his former rank as Captain in the Royal Navy, and placed upon the retired list. When the war between Russia and Turkey broke out, Admiral Hobart Pasha was given the command of the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea. He then formally withdrew from the British service. In the course of the war, at great risk, he ran the blockade of the Danube in a Turkish gunboat. He was raised by the Sultan to the rank of "Mushir" and Marshal of the Empire on January 8, 1881, being the first Christian to receive this honor.

It is reported that an important change has been made in the policy of the Dominion Government in regard to the fishery question. Six weeks ago a fleet of cruisers was established, and instructions given the captains and all collectors of customs for a vigorous enforcement of the Treaty of 1818, including the power to seize American vessels buying bait or other supplies, shipping men or transhipping cargo. A few days ago these instructions were, it is said, modified by omitting the following sentences contained in the first circular: "For other purposes than those of shelter, repairing damages, purchasing wood, obtaining water; and if violating the provisions of the treaty by shipping men or supplies, or trading." Under these instructions American vessels can apparently go into Canadian ports, buy bait, secure supplies, and ship all the men they want during twenty-four hours. If at the end of that time, having been warned, they do not go outside the three-mile limit, an officer will be placed on board and the facts telegraphed to Ottawa. United States Consul Phelan regards the change as a vital and complete admission of the justice of the convention of the United States on the question of commercial privileges.

The total popular majority in Nova Scotia for secession from Canada is 12,000 in a vote of 60,000.

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THE "VIEW-WITH-ALARM" PLANK.

FOR the last ten years before its overthrow the strongest reliance of the Republican party in every campaign was the dread of the Democracy, which it cultivated so sedulously. No platform was constructed which did not enlarge upon the ruin threatened to the country if the Opposition should come into power, and the "view-with-alarm" plank was always the one which aroused the party organ-grinder and stump speaker to the most powerful efforts. Especially popular was that count in the indictment which charged the Democratic party with a purpose to "bankrupt the national treasury" by paying "rebel claims," to the extent of thousands of millions of dollars, in case it should ever acquire power.

To go no further back than 1876, we find the Republicans of Vermont resolving that their party was "the only one under which we can hope to obtain an honest and effective maintenance of the Government, as well as the defence of the Treasury against unjust demands and expenditures growing out of the rebellion." The same year the Pennsylvania Republicans "arraigned" the Democrats for a long list of offences, chief among which was "the repeated indications of their purpose, only controlled by fear, to open the Treasury of the nation to the alarming and unjust pecuniary demands from the insurrectionary States." In New Jersey the party held that "the safety and honor of the nation, and its peace and prosperity in the future, can only be assured by intrusting the control of national affairs to the keeping of that party which saved the nation," and that "these would all be imperilled by committing our national interests to the hands of the Democratic party." The national platform of 1876 "charged the Democratic party as being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason," and "warned the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable."

The "rebel claims" proved so popular with the Republican managers that in 1878 Mr. Blaine had his Maine Convention adopt a "view-with-alarm" plank entirely restricted to this count; Eugene Hale reporting a resolution which declared that "the evident purpose of the Democratic party, if it should come into full power, to pay the *hundreds of millions* of suspended war claims of disloyal men" made it "doubly important" to elect a Republican House to hold in check the Senate, then "soon to pass under Democratic control." Not to be outdone by his Maine rival, Mr. Conkling, at his New York Convention in the same year, "arraigned" the Democratic party at much greater length, and resolved that in "this great exigency" the Republican organization is "the only efficient bulwark against national repudiation and disgrace."

The "alarm" of the platform-makers grew with the lapse of time. Mr. Conkling's third-term convention at Utica in 1880 declared that "the safety of the nation is again imperilled," that "in the presence of these grave and threatening dangers it is the duty of the Republican party of the Union, in its united strength, to meet and prevent them"; and "to this end" Grant ought to be again elected President. The Vermont Republicans, although having no sympathy with the third-term movement, found in the record of the Democrats "occasion for a just alarm on the part of the friends of a republican form of government," and resolved that "the Republican party must be sustained, as the only effective barrier to the success of treasonable schemes." The Kansas Republicans, who were for neither Grant nor Edmunds, but thought Blaine the man for the hour, considered the occasion equally critical. They found that "under the name of Democracy are arrayed against the civilization of the age men who, having striven by rebellion and open war to destroy the nation, are now endeavoring to seize the Government by force or fraud," and declared that "in the approaching Presidential campaign there will be no middle ground upon which timid patriots can stand, and those who are in favor of the perpetuity of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the promotion of civilization are Republicans, and of necessity must vote for the Republican candidates; and those who are in favor of violence and anarchy, the dissolution and utter destruction of Republican government, will vote for the success of the Democratic candidates."

The campaign of 1884 found Republican platform-makers still in a terrible frame of mind. In electing delegates to the National Convention of that year, the New York Republicans put on record their confidence in the success of the party in the coming Presidential election, "because of the necessity for the continuance of Republican administration of the affairs of Government, which Democratic inability and incapacity would imperil." In New Jersey the Republican platform declared that "the Democratic party, although masquerading now as a party of patriotism and reform, is essentially the same as when it declared the war for the Union a failure." The Massachusetts Republicans declared their well-grounded confidence in the success of the party, because they believed "the people will not place the Federal Administration under a control which involves financial, industrial, and commercial peril."

Republican State Conventions have just been held in Maine and Vermont for the first time since the contest of 1884. A Democratic President has been in the White House for a year and a quarter, and the character of his administration has been fully established. Sufficient time has elapsed to disclose what are its aims and purposes, and to show whether those aims and purposes involve harm to the nation. And yet, when, according to all their past predictions, Republican resolution-drawers ought to find a superabundance of indisputable evidence that the country is far advanced on the road to ruin, and their platforms should tremble beneath the load of proofs which it ought to be easy to cite, a careful study of these two deliverances shows the remarkable fact that they contain, for the first time, no "view-with-alarm" plank whatever. The Vermont Republicans no longer, as in 1876, resolve that their party is the only one under which can be secured "the defence of the Treasury against unjust demands and expenditures growing out of the rebellion." The Maine Republicans no longer, as in 1878, declare that it is "the evident purpose of the Democratic party to pay the hundreds of millions of suspended war claims of disloyal men."

The extraordinary significance of these omissions will not be fully appreciated until the fall campaign is well under way—nor, indeed, in all their bearings, until the next Presidential contest is fought. For years the "view-with-alarm" plank has been the chief reliance of the Republican managers. When everything else failed to dissuade doubtful voters from supporting the Democracy, the claim that the Republican party must be sustained "as the only effective barrier to the success of treasonable schemes," to use the words of the Vermont Republicans in 1880, was expected to do the business, and generally did. Garfield would not have won in 1880 if "timid patriots" had not been assured that there was "no middle ground" between his election and "the dissolution and utter destruction of republican government." Blaine would have lost nearly if not all his plurality over Cleveland in Massachusetts in 1884, but for the charge that the latter's election would "place the Federal Administration under a control which involves financial, industrial, and commercial peril." The loss of this bugbear is a loss of campaign material such as no party in our history ever so suddenly suffered.

Every well-wisher of his country must rejoice at the change which has come about. The "view with-alarm" plank was an indictment against popular-government. The Kansas Republicans in 1880 resolved that "those who are in favor of the perpetuity of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the promotion of civilization are Republicans, and of necessity must vote for the Republican candidates; and those who are in favor of violence and anarchy, the dissolution and utter destruction of republican government, will vote for the success of the Democratic candidates." The count showed 4,454,416 votes for the Republican candidates and 4,444,952 for the Democratic. In other words, out of 9,000,000 voters only 9,464 more were "in favor of the perpetuity of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the promotion of civilization" than were "in favor of violence and anarchy, the dissolution and utter destruction of republican government." Soberly to state such a proposition is to show what an absurdity the "view-with-alarm" plank was, and what a blessing it is to have it smashed.

MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICANISM.

THE widely accepted opinion that Oliver Ames will receive the Republican nomination for Governor in Massachusetts is an impressive sign of the demoralization of the party. It is three months yet before the convention, and the prospect may change in the meantime, but the important fact is that the selection of such a candidate is seriously canvassed and earnestly favored by many if not most of the party leaders. Such a development may well engage the attention of the country.

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Mr. Ames is a man of amiable disposition, who is esteemed by his neighbors and respected by the community in which he lives; but he is devoid of those qualities of mind which, in Massachusetts more than in any other State, have always been deemed essential in the aspirant after high office. He is the very embodiment of the commonplace in point of ability, and by virtue of his personality would never exert any influence beyond the circle of his intimates. He lacks the capacity to make a presentable appearance on public occasions; and his failures when, as Lieutenant-Governor, he has represented the State at such times, have been almost pitiable. In short, he is the sort of man whom, a generation ago, it would have been considered preposterous to suggest as a possible occupant of the highest office in the State. But Mr. Ames inherited the control of a great manufacturing industry and is a very rich man. Like so many rich men nowadays, he longs to hold public office, and when the Republicans wanted a generous contributor to the party's campaign fund in the fight with Butler four years ago, they put him on the ticket as Lieutenant-Governor, and they have re-elected him ever since, everybody supposing that this honor would satisfy his ambition. But, so far from this, the enjoyment of the second office has only made him eager for the higher place, and this year, Gov. Robinson having announced his purpose to withdraw from public life Mr Ames seeks to become his successor.

There has, perhaps, never been a case where the mere possession of wealth was so baldly advanced as a reason for giving a man the highest honor at the disposal of a State. His service in the Lieutenant-Governorship has established his lack of the proper qualifications for public service, and emphasized the absurdity of preferring him to such a man as ex-Congressman Crapo, for instance, who, under the old traditions as to the choice of Governors, would naturally have come to the front as the Republican candidate this year. And yet in the year 1886 there is nothing which should surprise anybody in the prominence of Mr. Ames in the Republican party of Massachusetts. His nomination would only be carrying out the same policy which has governed party management ever since Mr. Blaine was accepted as the Presidential candidate in 1884. The debasing effects of this lowering of the standard became apparent last year, and have been still more obvious this year. A conspicuous illustration was presented in the Legislature of 1885, chosen on the day of the Presidential election. The lower branch passed a so-called Dynamite Bill, which proposed new safeguards against the use of the explosive for the unlawful destruction of life or property, "within or without the Commonwealth," the motive being the then recent explosions in London. The measure went through by a vote of almost two to one, without attracting great attention, but, before it could become a law, a "Blaine Irishman," who had a seat in the House, became aroused to the significance of the act, and demanded a reconsideration. He boldly declared that the Republicans must choose between the friendship of the Irish voters, who, like himself, "were convinced by Republican arguments and voted for Mr. Blaine last year," and the duty of denying dynamiters the right of making Massachusetts their base of operations against Great Britain; in other words, they must abandon the attempt to do their duty as civilized men, or lose the support of the dynamiters. The issue was clearly made, and when the House, with 166 out of its 240 members Republicans, was called to meet it, it declared three to one in favor of the dynamiters on a *viva-voce* vote, while the small minority shrank from going on record when a demand was made for the yeas and nays.

The bid for the "Irish vote" by the last Legislature has been followed by bids for all sorts of votes by the present body. After for many years consistently and persistently opposing the proposition to repeal the poll-tax qualification for the suffrage, both branches, with large Republican majorities, have this year shifted their ground and voted for its abolition, for no other reason than the fear that the Democrats might gain a few votes if the Republicans did not go over to their platform. An arbitration bill came up not long after, and, because it was thought to be a good way of capturing the Knights of Labor vote, both branches sanctioned the rank injustice of restricting the choice of the arbitrator who represents the employees in any controversy, to members of labor organizations. A bill exempting soldiers from the necessity of passing competitive examinations, which was truthfully described by the Boston *Journal* as being "an assault upon the State civil-service system every bit as deadly" as the abortive assault of Mr. Randall upon the Federal law, went through both branches with the approval of a majority of the Republican members. The nomination by the party of a rich man and nothing else for Governor would be simply a fitting culmination of such a record.

In the days when the Republican party represented something, Massachusetts used to boast of her leadership in the party. She retains that leadership in these days of the party's degeneracy. The ruling idea of the Republican leaders now apparently is to bid for votes of various classes, by various devices of demagogism, and to buy with money such as cannot otherwise be got. Under this régime the fact that a man "is a perfect bonanza," as an admirer has styled Mr. Bodwell, the rich granite contractor in Maine, is the strongest argument for nominating him as Governor. The prominence of Mr. Ames in the canvass for the Republican candidacy in a State having the traditions of Massachusetts, is the most alarming symptom of a disease which seems to have secured a death-hold upon the party.

MONT-DORE AND ITS WATERS.

Is there any more exhilarating way of travel than riding upon the *banquette* of a diligence among picturesque valleys and over perfect roads? The tourist who has the true tourist's instinct will always appreciate this means of locomotion, and the more as routes on which it may be enjoyed grow fewer. With each decade, almost with each new season, some diligence route succumbs, in France, to the steady development of railroads—a transformation which, if it is not so rapid as with us, is quite as inexorable. Throughout France the steel-rail network is gradually extending itself up the mountain valleys and over the upland plains; and, worst of all (at least from the picturesque tourist's point of view), where the steel rail can gain upward no longer, the tunnel pierces the mountain, and you are given gross darkness, a Cimmerian whirl and roarings instead of mountain height, and stream, and distance.

But in central and southern France many of the old-time routes remain; and two of these, upon which the voiture will not soon be abolished, are those which lead mountainward from Clermont-Ferrand and from Laqueuille stations, on the new railway from Tulle, to La Bourboule and to Mont-Dore in Auvergne respectively. The old route by Clermont-Ferrand is the longer, and probably even finer than the one which I chose, the new route by Laqueuille; a station which you reach by a long sweep around the Auvergne mountains, thirty-nine miles west of Clermont-Ferrand. At this point the Auvergne railway has won an elevation of some two thousand feet; already there is a sweet mountain wildness on the hills. The diligences set off at sunrise up the valley of the Dordogne: as you advance, the mountains rise somewhat sternly on either side, but with a wild charm. The higher slopes are purple with long tracts of flowering heather, most beautiful of mountain vestments; the stream winds below, between tracts of yellow-green turf, more wonderfully vivid in hue, last August, than any that I have seen elsewhere, except, perhaps, at the Lakes of Killarney, much earlier in the season. There is every appearance of great fertility. The inhabitants claim, indeed, that this is the most fertile valley in France.

Certainly it is one of the most beautiful. The country could not well be more *accidenté*. For thirteen miles the road is tossed up and down among the hills; it passes through La Bourboule station, where the diligence lets off the morning contingent of visitors. You cannot avoid being struck by the names of places; it is a country of queer names, some of them more Gaulish than Latin in their look. The friendly guide-posts of the Club Alpin Français point out the way to the mountain passes from wild hamlets with still wilder names—Queureuilh and its cascade, Murat-le-Quaire, Banne-d'Ordanche (in the Gaulish tongue, *benna* meant a wagon), which is the name of the conical mountain, 4,970 feet high, that looms beyond the valley to the northeast. And what a land of patois! The curious local names are but the beginning of oddities; the local speech is a survival. Do not imagine that your pure Parisian French will help you to understand the talk of the driver with his mate, or of the peasants at the relay stations. They are talking a language which was probably thousands of years old when Julius Cæsar's veterans toiled up the same road. One word out of four, perhaps, you can understand; the other three are the rolled débris of the ancient Gaulish speech, the linguistic jetsam of these mountain shores, and here only to be found in Continental Europe, though the Celtic speech in Ireland is related to them. These words, or many of them, so the philologists say, are the words which Vercingetorix used in rallying his Arverni to make their unavailing stand against Cæsar.

The modern Auvergnat, however, is by no means restricted to his patois. Speak to him in French, or even in any American or Anglican version of that language, and he will answer you in French that is fairly good, though rustic. But this French is not so much his native tongue as his acquired accomplishment; the Gaulish dialect of Vercingetorix—which of course is not a patois, correctly speaking, but a survival—is his native and preferred speech. I need hardly add that the speech of cultivated people in Auvergne, as elsewhere throughout France, differs no more

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from the French of Paris than the Bostonian's English differs from the Baltimorean's. It is a mistake to think that outside of Paris a patois is generally spoken. This common error comes from the American traveller's usual avoidance of the provinces in his journeys. It is true that every French province, almost every French commune, even, has its patois; but this is confined to the uneducated classes. If a patois is spoken in the kitchen, good French is the language of the drawing-room in every part of France.

Half an hour beyond La Bourboule the diligence sets us down in the bustling square of Mont-Dore, and upon the Dordogne River near its mountain sources. We are at an elevation of 3,445 feet above sea-level; excepting only Barèges, Mont-Dore is the most elevated mineral spring in France. I may add that it has another distinction: its name is misspelled with a more curious persistence than that of any other spring. Since the name of Gustave Doré became familiar it has not been given to any English or American compositor to abstain from adding the acute accent to the last vowel of Mont-Dore; even in the Index of the usually accurate Poole this error occurs. At first sight the mountain village of Mont-Dore has a somewhat severe aspect; the roofs of it are covered with hewn stone instead of tiles to resist the winter storms. Its two hundred houses are huddled together on the right bank of the upper valley of the Dordogne, still an infant stream, not far from its point of origin in the cascades of the Dore and the Dogne. Some thirteen hundred people live here all the year round; the number of the summer guests is several times as large. On either hand rise fantastically shaped mountains. The top of the Pic de Sancy, a few miles away, 6,181 feet high, is the most elevated point of the mountains of Central France. The springs have been known from great antiquity; here the Arverni had their *piscinæ* before history began, and here the Romans disported themselves after the fatigues of oppressing the Gauls. Then, during the dark ages, Mont-Dore, the *Mons Duranius* of the Romans, was forgotten; for a thousand years you will find but one mention of the place in all literature. This occurs in a letter written by the good Bishop of Clermont, Sidonius Apollinarius (agnomen of prandial suggestiveness), in the fifth century to his friend Oppert; in this epistle he refers to the springs of Mont-Dore at the *Calentes Baiæ*.

Early in the present century these waters began to resume their ancient importance. The inflow of patients led to the construction of new establishments. The new establishments in turn attracted new patients, convincing many doubting invalids that they could really afford the luxury of being ill. Hotels sprang up rapidly; and now, in place of the mountain rudeness, one finds at this station every convenience, and nearly every luxury, that the most determined and self-regarding invalid can desire, besides every means for the administration of the thermal waters. Baths, douches, "pulverizations," *piscinæ*, and all the modern therapeutic bathing appliances are here developed to their fullest perfection, and I need not attempt their description.

The climate of Mont-Dore is a true mountain climate, not dissimilar to that of Davos or of Saint-Moritz in Switzerland—that is to say, it is cool in the morning and evening, and generally warm during the day, with variations of the thermometer almost but not quite as sudden and trying as those of New York, Philadelphia, or Boston. But it is the tonic coolness and the agreeable warmth of the mountain air, without the seaside humidity. The season lasts from mid-June to mid-September; July and August are perhaps the pleasanter months to choose, though the crowd is then greater. There are charming days in early September; but after the 15th, winter is apt to leap down any night from the heights of the Pic de Sancy. At the elevation of Mont-Dore the mean barometer is but 26.58 inches, and this lessened pressure is well recognized as a beneficial influence in certain diseases which are specially treated at this station. In pulmonary phthisis the effect of elevation is still a controverted question among physicians. I am of those who believe that lessened atmospheric pressure is almost always beneficial in the earlier stages of phthisis and before there is any danger of hæmorrhage. In the later stages lessened pressure is mechanically dangerous, bringing too great a strain upon the pulmonary tissue, and inducing arterial ruptures. But it is only the earlier stages of phthisis that ever should be treated at Mont-Dore.

The springs are nine in number, with a daily yield of 100,000 gallons. Eight of these are thermal, ranging from 38° to 45° C. (100° to 113° Fah.); the other, the Sainte-Marguerite spring, flows at 10½° C. (51° Fah.). This spring contains little but carbonic-acid gas, and is used mainly in diluting wine. All these springs have their source in the rock at the foot of a mountain of granitic lava, the Angle. Their mineralization is not strong; they contain the bicarbonates of lime and soda, besides arsenic and many other less important constituents. The waters are taken *intus vel extra*. Internally a glass every half hour until the noon breakfast is the ordinary form of exhibition. As baths, inhalations, sprayings, the application is a very elaborate affair, and choice is made among the appliances according to the indication of the special case. Taken internally the waters quicken the pulse, awake the functions of the skin, and increase the bronchial secretions. At first they cause a freer expectoration in sufferers from pulmonary disease; then, in favorable cases, they check or stop it. After drinking the waters for a fortnight the moment of what is called "saturation" arrives; the appetite is for the first time checked, aversion for the mineral waters is felt; it is the moment to discontinue their use. A longer sojourn among the hills will help to complete the cure, unless the patient is possessed with the restlessness which leads him to fatiguing changes of habitat during the summer.

And for what complaints is the cure at Mont-Dore to be prescribed?

(1.) Affections of the respiratory organs are the main diseases treated at Mont-Dore. The reader need not be reminded that of all diseases of maturity these form the most extensive and the most fatal class. They include bronchitis, laryngitis, asthma, pharyngitis, catarrh, both bronchial and post-nasal; and last, but most important of all, phthisis, here treated in its early stages.

Chronic bronchitis is one of the affections most commonly and most satisfactorily treated at Mont-Dore. There are usually complications, as with asthma, pulmonary emphysema, dilatation of the bronchial tubes. Such cases are often sent as a last resort to Mont-Dore; but it rarely happens that a material improvement is not effected by the thermal treatment. The inhalations act directly upon the bronchial mucus, and check its secretion; and as a drink, the waters have a tonic and alterant effect.

With "dry" or "nervous" asthma, that obdurate form, namely, of this persistent disease, which is caused by muscular spasm of the smaller bronchial tubes, a three-weeks' course at Mont-Dore gives relief, sometimes cure; but in a certain number of cases repeated yearly visits are necessary. My friend Dr. Emond of Mont-Dore reports a considerable number of such cases, in which a perfect cure was brought about. In moist asthma the results are still more encouraging. In a case known to me—that of a lady who was sent from New York to Mont-Dore a few years ago by one of our best-known city surgeons—the most persistent symptoms were entirely cured; in this instance there was much dyspnœa. Chronic bronchitis and laryngitis, or "clergyman's sore throat," finds here, as at Royat, an excellent sanitarium; the difference being in the cooler climate of Mont-Dore, which for certain constitutions is more powerfully tonic than that of the other station.

Post-nasal catarrh, the most distinctively American of diseases in its frequency, and one of the most stubborn to treat, will seldom succumb to anything but energetic local measures. The tissues that are affected must be attacked; and these local applications require to be supplemented, in cases where there is a scrofulous, arthritic, or other constitutional tendency, by tonics and by general treatment. At Mont-Dore, at Aix-les-Bains, and at some other smaller places, both local and constitutional treatment are combined successfully; it is for the physician to choose among these places, according to his patient's special need. They are the appointed *sanatoria* for this distressing disease.

It remains to speak of phthisis, the master-malady of northern countries—the cachexia with which physicians and pathologists have struggled with but partial success. The bacillus theory of the origin of the disease remains to be proved by the pathologists; the cure of the disease, when once it is fully established, remains to be sought. It is a rare, though an occasional, triumph of the physician; and in some constitutions nature triumphs over even well-advanced cases, and leaves the sufferer of early years to a healthy old age. But the experience of nine cases out of ten is that the malady, if checked at all, must be checked before it has made much headway.

There is no doubt that in many cases this can be done. My own observation leads me to believe that pulmonary consumption could be arrested in four or five cases out of ten if it were taken early in hand, and if the proper conditions could be commanded for the patient. But the lot in life of the majority of sufferers makes this command of favoring conditions impossible. A cure that requires the entire change of the patient's way of living is not one that can be generally available; sometimes it is impossible on account of the expense required, sometimes impracticable on account of the invalid's natural unwillingness to suffer transplantation. One of my patients once said to me, "I would rather die in the North than live in the South." But, after all, these cases are exceptional; and summer transplantation to spots like Mont-Dore, Eaux-Bonnes in the Pyrenees, or Aix-les-Bains, is one of many beneficial influences that will sometimes arrest the early stages of consumption. In the later, the invalid is generally the better for staying at home. Exile, under sentence of death, is the most cruel of prescriptions. It is of little use to leave home unless the invalid can command the conditions of contentment, as well as of comfort abroad.

(2.) It remains to add that rheumatism in its milder forms, nervous paralysis, and uterine derangements not depending upon grave lesions, are all treated at Mont-Dore, and sometimes cured. Drs. Emond, Cohadon, and Alvin may be consulted with full confidence.

TITUS MUNSON COAN.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

LONDON, June 8, 1886.

"TELLERS for the noes, Mr. Brand and Mr. Caine." The House of Commons never refuses a mild joke, and the odd juxtaposition of names sent honorable members smiling and chuckling into their respective lobbies. Up to the last moment, everything was possible; and when the

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clerk handed to Mr. Brand the slip of paper which is the symbol of victory, there arose a storm of excitement which carried everything before it. No such scene has been witnessed since 1866, when a combination of Whigs and Tories threw out Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill. "These violent delights have violent ends"; the Whig victory of 1866 was followed by the Conservative surrender of 1867, when Tories and Radicals combined to set up household suffrage. Some of the older Liberal members sat silent last night while the two parties opposite were trying to shout one another down. Perhaps they were trying to discover which of the jubilant ex-Ministers on the front Opposition bench would rise in 1887 to introduce an Irish Government bill conceived in the spirit of Tory democracy. The Government accepted defeat without any sign of emotion; they must have known what was coming, and their plans must be already almost matured. Will they dissolve or resign? It is generally believed at present that Mr. Gladstone will resign, and that Lord Hartington may be induced to form a government; but dissolution cannot be long delayed. Setting aside the enthusiasts on both sides, there is but little expectation that a general election will produce a decisive change in the balance of parties. Even if Mr. Gladstone were to come back with a compact majority of British home-rulers, it is almost certain that the House of Lords will reject, once at least, any measure of home rule sent up from the Commons. We have before us the far from pleasant prospect of a series of short and barren Parliaments; the strife of parties and sections may continue until at last, in sheer weariness, we accept some unsatisfactory compromise of the Irish question. For the Liberal party the outlook is very gloomy. We are most seriously divided, and instead of discussing quietly the principles now at issue, we are wrangling furiously over the question who is to blame for what has happened. The Associations are all for making an example of Mr. Chamberlain; but Mr. Chamberlain is not in the least frightened. He goes about with the air of a good man basking in the sunshine of prosperity. He told us what would happen if his advice should be neglected, and now his prophecy has been fulfilled.

To speak seriously, Mr. Chamberlain has not greatly distinguished himself in the course of this great controversy. He has shown himself a consummate debater, but he has been very inconsistent and very superficial. In his speech on the second reading, he declared for a Constitution on the Canadian model, but he seemed to be unaware of the scope of his own argument. He has fallen back on federalism in order to save the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Yet who can doubt that the federalization of the United Kingdom would alter the position of Parliament much more radically than Mr. Gladstone proposes to alter it? Even in making his citations from the British North America Act, Mr. Chamberlain managed to show that he has not made a thorough study of his subject. He quoted the general words of the section which defines the legislative authority of the Dominion; he took no note of the general words which define the legislative authority of the Provinces. Nor does he seem to have heard of the decisions of our courts by which the Canadian Provinces have been upheld in the exercise of independent powers such as he would probably deny to Ireland. Mr. Chamberlain stands on dangerous ground as a party man. He has given up his hold on the Associations; he has inflicted a conspicuous humiliation on his own friends. He might therefore have been expected to make his constitutional platform as safe as possible, instead of which he has done his best to convince us that his platform is not one on which any practical politician can stand beside him. He has succeeded in his immediate purpose, and now, where is he to go? If he takes office under Lord Hartington, he will finally alienate his Radical friends. If, on the other hand, he means to remain unattached till this Irish difficulty is settled, he may find himself classed as a sort of Radical Goschen—one of the small band of distinguished impracticables who are always with the Liberal party.

But if Mr. Chamberlain deserves censure as a party man and as a statesman, there can be no doubt that the chief responsibility for our present confusion must rest on Mr. Gladstone. We are sometimes told that our failure to respond to his proposals is another proof of our national inaccessibility to ideas. That is hardly a fair statement of the case. Mr. Gladstone had certain ideas about home rule which he continued to expound with great vigor for fourteen or fifteen years. He told us on many occasions that the Imperial Parliament was both competent and willing to make good laws for Ireland. He pointed out the difficulty of separating between British and Irish affairs. He said he would never give Ireland any home rule except such as might be given to Scotland. He "would never condescend to the prejudices of the Home-Rulers"; he would never consent to "disintegrate the capital institutions of the country"; and if Irishmen made unreasonable demands he would remind them that "there is a higher law than the law of conciliation." So late as May, 1884, Mr. Gladstone argued that the franchise might safely be extended in Ireland because "there is a security for the loyal minority in the composition of the House of Commons." These were the ideas which found access to the mind of the Liberal party down to the end of 1885. About that time Mr. Gladstone parted with his old ideas, and laid in an entirely fresh stock. He became convinced that Parliament could not legislate for Ireland, and that if there was a higher law than that of conciliation, it was not for us to apply it. We must meet the prejudices of the Home-Rulers against "foreign" law, by disintegrating Parliament, and by giving them a legislature of their own. These new ideas may have been perfectly sound, but they could not be expected to penetrate all at once into minds already occupied by the Gladstonian ideas of 1871-85. This, however, is a kind of difficulty for which the Prime Minister had no consideration. He had himself not only discarded, but honestly forgotten his old opinions, and he felt sure that he had the heart of the people with him in his new venture. He allowed no delay; he scouted the notion of prolonged inquiry; he paid no attention to differences of opinion in his own party. His new principle occupied his mind to the exclusion of everything else; trusting in that and in his own powers of management and persuasion, he went right forward and broke up his party.

What the effects of the split may be, we cannot yet foresee. Some of the Whigs desire to organize themselves strongly as a party of Liberals opposed to home rule, state socialism, and disestablishment of the Church. Radicals of the Labouchere type profess to look with satisfaction on the Whig movement. They hope to recapture Mr. Chamberlain, but they would like to force Lord Hartington and his friends into the Conservative camp. It is not at all likely that they will succeed, but if they do, they will probably be disappointed by the result. I do not believe that Radicalism in this country is strong enough to stand by itself without the help of the moderate Liberals. All the recent triumphs of the Liberal party have been due to the fact that Mr. Gladstone commanded the confidence of Whigs and Radicals alike. There is hardly any one among his possible successors who can command the support of both sections. Perhaps Lord Rosebery might manage it, but then he has the great misfortune to sit in the House of Lords. A single leader is not absolutely necessary for the maintenance of unity; but after enjoying the services of a leader who makes perhaps the best party hero on record, Liberals will hardly know how to do without a chief of one sort or another. In the meantime they make light of their difficulties, and they fight out their domestic quarrels with perfect indifference to the presence of the Conservatives. And the Conservatives have not done much to shake the confidence of their opponents. Lord Salisbury has had a splendid opportunity, and he has missed it, not for want of ability, but for want of a little elementary politics. His recent speeches have been very able, but they might have been expressly composed in order to confirm the popular impression that the Tories are a party of coercion, totally destitute of sympathy with the Irish people. His phrase about not giving self-government to Hottentots was of course only a figure of speech, but Irishmen believe that he has compared them to Hottentots, and that is enough. Again, Lord Salisbury's recommendation of twenty years of "firm" government was perfectly well meant; but nothing he can say will persuade British Radicals that he meant anything but twenty years of repressive legislation. Lord Salisbury also has the misfortune to sit in a House whose members are not brought directly into contact with the people; and that is one reason why he is so extremely weak as an electioneering agent. The difference between the Lord Beaconsfield of 1880 and the Mr. Disraeli of 1874 was not merely a difference of age. R.

THE DEFEAT OF MR. GLADSTONE'S BILL.

DUBLIN, June 12, 1886.

MR. GLADSTONE'S Home-Rule Bill has been defeated, and defeated by a larger majority than either supporters or opponents anticipated. This is only what we might have expected. It was not reasonable to suppose that a measure could be rushed through at once which has been advanced by British statesmen only within the past few months, and advanced almost without British party and press support—rather in the face of party and press opposition—and without the animating influence of a vigorous British public agitation. In this respect and as regards a measure of first importance, it appears to me that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley stand out in (as Mr. Healy put it) their "almost divine courage." The defeat is only what we might have expected, and it need not be deplored. It is better that the English people should have time to consider the question and appreciate the wisdom of the change. They will be more likely to give home rule their moral support, and less likely to consider it as still an evil—if only the least of two evils. As to Irish Home-Rulers, the delay is altogether an advantage. It is not good for the country generally that the present disorganization should be continued, and continue it will until matters are taken in hand by an Irish Administration; but it is well that the thinking portion of the country should appreciate and be made to accept the position to which the Irish party has now brought the question.

Reviewing the past eight years, since Mr. Parnell fully undertook the unravelment of the Irish skein, we must acknowledge that in a certain sense parties in Ireland have been manœuvred rather than persuaded into accord. Mr. Parnell has "drawn all men unto him," not so much by the force of argument as by making each man think that he, Parnell, agreed with him—or at least was not opposed to him. Hostility and outspoken denunciation are generally the attitude of an earnest political or moral leader towards

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those followers who only partially unite with him, or accept his guidance with reserve. To keep all the abuse for the enemy has been Mr. Parnell's policy. Eight years ago the Irish cause stood, as it generally had stood, shivered into fragments. There were the Fenians and the Fenian sympathizers, the simple Repealers, the Federalists, the moderate and the advanced Home-Rulers—agreeing in nothing but in hating each other more than they hated the common foe. Mr. Parnell has, by the power of his statesmanship, fused these heterogeneous elements apparently into one. In some respects the process has not been ennobling. There appeared more simplicity and honesty in the old bungling straightforwardness—every man saying what he thought and acting accordingly. There was, however, no result, and we must give the credit to the man that has at length made the egg stand on end. But the Irish party, and Mr. Parnell especially in his speech before the final division, in their full acceptance of Mr. Gladstone's bill as a final settlement of the quarrel between the countries, have put a strain upon the extreme sections of supporters, abroad and at home, whose effects it is important that we should have time to appreciate. Were the measure carried precipitately through, extreme sections might say they had been jockeyed, repudiate their part in the settlement, and try to use it as a fulcrum for further agitation. The delay of a few months will be a test. What will our countrymen in America and Australia say? how will our countrymen at home vote, now that it is beyond all question apparent what the party are going in for? I shall be agreeably surprised if there be not an appreciable cooling down of enthusiasm in some directions, but entertain no fear as to the verdict of the average Irish common sense. The atmosphere has been cleared and purified. After all, humanity more easily loves than it hates. Good feeling is taking the place of animosity on both sides of the Channel. Mr. Gladstone's alchemy of justice will be as effective in this case as justice has been always and everywhere.

The majority of Irish Protestants, adherents of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union—among whom must be included, as a rule, the wealthy and the most refined classes and some of the best educated and most elevated natures—never felt more bitterly than they do at present. One of their principal mouthpieces in Parliament, Major Saunderson, exclaimed, "Hear, hear," when Mr. Parnell said, in the course of a late speech, "One would think that the Protestants of Ireland were going to be handed over to the tender mercies of a lot of thugs and bandits." Regarding the defeat of the bill, the (Orange) *Dublin Evening Mail* wrote:

"Yesterday, when the result of the great debate was known, the streets presented a curious phenomenon to the observer. Every person you met, whose appearance indicated even a moderate social standing, looked as if he had recovered the key of his front door from the hands of a gang of burglars."

"Are we idiots or are we fools?" cried Mr. Healy the other day. No, these Protestants regard the masses of the people as the fools and idiots, and the leaders as thugs and bandits, and consequently do not believe one word regarding the acceptance of the principles of the bill by the Irish party: they consider it is all pretence. And yet, perhaps, they do believe the leaders are "idiots and fools," to play such a game. Discuss the question candidly with an honest friend on the opposite side, as any one living in Ireland must occasionally do who has definite opinions of his own, and who does not wish to close his mind to reason and argument, and the differences always resolve themselves into these points: Are the intentions of Mr Parnell and his friends in the main honest or malevolent? Are the mass of the Irish people likely to be swayed by ordinary motives, or are they bent on a lawless democracy? Can religious freedom be maintained under a government mainly Catholic?

As to Mr. Chamberlain and his "cave-men," I see no reason to suppose that they are actuated by dishonest motives. It would have been easier for them to follow their natural leader, Mr. Gladstone. A year ago Mr. Chamberlain sought the opinions of Irish Nationalists regarding a feasible settlement of the home-rule question. His rejoinder to at least one of the communications he received, showed that his conceptions of a settlement were far behind Mr. Gladstone's present plan. He and his friends are the exponents of what may be called the Cavour policy regarding Ireland. It must be forty years since Count Cavour visited this country and published, in a pamphlet of extraordinary vigor, his impressions regarding the Irish problem. He maintained that what Great Britain owed to Ireland was a system of national education, an efficient police, the disestablishment of the Church, and the thorough reform of the land laws; but that under no circumstances would it be safe for her to permit the establishment, even for local affairs, of a separate Irish Legislature. Twenty years later, in the height of the Fenian agitation, and while home rule was still in the air, this pamphlet was translated by Dr. W. B. Hodgson of Edinburgh (whom to know was to love), and widely circulated. It is doubtless to be found in all the public libraries, at least on this side of the water. Before and since that publication the *Spectator* newspaper has been the most powerful exponent of the Cavour policy—perfect justice to Ireland, but, in Mr. Froude's words, "England an extinct volcano" before the establishment of a separate legislative assembly in Dublin. Such were the views of nine English Liberals out of ten until within the past few months. We have no right to suppose that those who retain such opinions are disingenuous, and this party will die hard—harder, perhaps, than is now supposed.

There is one matter which the discussions of the past few months have made clear, and that is the position of "Ulster"—not of "Ulster," for the Ulster fallacy has exploded, but rather of the three corner counties. If the Protestants of these corner counties are willing to leave their coreligionists who are scattered over the rest of Ireland to the tender mercies of the Catholics, the Nationalists of the rest of Ireland will never consent to leave their friends in those three counties to the tender mercies of the Orangemen.* Ireland must stand or fall intact. And, indeed, regarding Ulster Protestantism things are not as hopeless as they appeared some months ago, when one of the most intelligent Protestants in Ireland put down the number of Irish Protestant Home-Rulers at "under thirty." An apparently vigorous Irish Protestant Home-Rule Association has been established in Belfast; branches are in course of formation at least in Dublin and Cork, and the publication of a collection of 'Opinions of some Protestants regarding their Irish Catholic Fellow-Countrymen' shows that home rule has taken a wider and deeper hold among Irish Protestants than was supposed.

Journalism on either side has not been playing a very dignified part in the discussion. Seeing that the average human mind cannot bear the state of indecision and the strain upon its self-esteem (apart from the consumption of time) necessary for the study of papers on both sides of the question, both sides might feel it incumbent upon them to be a little fairer than they are. Few readers have ever been so privileged as were the readers of Garrison's *Liberator* in having a column reserved as a "Refuge of Oppression." But a new evil has been added in sensational journalism, and of that we had a good example in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 31st ult., when it devoted four pages to an elaborate muster-roll—infantry, cavalry, and artillery, engineers and rifles, divisions and brigades, active and reserve forces—of the "enrolled Orange army of 73,561 men." Such journalism can serve no end but to "sell the paper"—for the time; and it does immense harm in flattering the vanity of those who would desire the establishment of such an army, and in making Englishmen generally believe that in the interests of peace and order in Ireland no form of home rule would be safe.

We are now to have a general election. If home rule carries the day, we shall doubtless have a measure much better than the bill just wrecked—for that it needed alteration in many important respects, only the necessities of party unity prevented many of its supporters from admitting. If home rule be defeated, we shall have a prolongation of the contest. In either case, the Conservative and the Cavour parties will make a desperate fight, and the House of Lords is also to be passed. The delay of a few years, another trial of coercion, are possible before the inevitable is accepted. In any case, until this question is decided, it will be difficult to accomplish any other important business in the Imperial Parliament.

D. B.

* The *Graphic* maps of June 5 cannot be too highly commended as an aid to the consideration of the Ulster question. It is much to be regretted, however, that the colorist did not adhere to one shade of tint for "best" or "worst" in all the maps.

A RADICAL VIEW OF THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS.

Rovigo, May 29, 1886.

The general elections are over, leaving confusion worse confounded, the excitement intense, the disappointments numerous, the surprises most surprising of all. The worst feature of the elections is that a fewer number of electors have taken part than in past times, which proves a growing sense of the impotence of present institutions as now working to promote the general interests of all classes. Hence numbers of peaceable citizens say: "If we belong to an electoral committee, if we take a prominent part in public meetings or in private electoral reunions, we are sure to make no end of enemies, and by no means so sure of gaining any friends." Then, again, with the exception of the Radicals, there has been no programme patent to the ordinary mind, no special measures to carry to which a certain party is pledged, the opposite party opposing them. Every one expected from Depretis the announcement of a future policy at home and abroad, but in his only speech, made at the Roman banquet, he spoke entirely of himself, of the calumnies hurled at him, of friends turned foes, of his excellent intentions, of the reasons which had prevented him from carrying them into effect.

It cannot be said that even a personal programme has been kept before the electors. You are aware that here we have what they call the *scrutinio di lista:* instead of the one-membered colleges, each province elects a number of members proportioned to its population, which system has the benefit of preventing wealth and land from carrying the day exclusively. In 1882, when this system was first adopted in most of the provinces, there sprang up three electoral committees—a Moderate, a Progressist, a Radical. In some, the Moderates and Progressists coalesced; in others, the Radicals and Progressists united; but during the present elections the members of the late Legislature cast about simply and solely for the best chances of keeping their seats, and in several we have had the immoral specta-

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cle of Ministers, Ministerial supporters, and their stanchest antagonists uniting, in the hope of victory. The only excuse they alleged was their devotion to monarchy and their desire to save the institution; which simply rendered them absurd, since, if you except a small portion of the old "temporal sovereignty" papal partisans, and the new organization of workingmen (both fractions abstaining from electoral agitation), no one dreams of overthrowing monarchy to establish a republic.

What is the net result of the elections it is yet difficult to say. Both parties have lost some of their best men, their defeat in most cases being due to the aforesaid coalition. The Pentarchists, so styled from the union of their five leaders, Crispi, Nicotera, Cairoli, Zanardelli, and Baccarini, are all reëlected, but have lost some splendid officers and brave soldiers. The old Moderates march in a compact phalanx of a hundred and fifty; the so-called Ministerial supporters, Transformists and Moderate Liberals, are returned in an equal number; the Radicals pure and simple number forty-eight. Social reform is the programme of these last; and as the Pentarchists and Progressists are pledged to present measures for the regulation of strikes, for the reform of the charitable institutions, for bonifications (*i. e.*, draining of marshes, the cultivation of waste soil, and similar measures), they can count safely on the adherence of the Radical party. Hence it is difficult to even form an idea as to the future Government. Signor Minghetti, the acknowledged head of the old Moderates, has said clearly: We are now in a position to say to Signor Depretis, "You must make your choice: either form a Ministry of Moderates and Moderate Liberals, when you may count upon us, or go back openly to the Left, and we range ourselves in opposition." Signor Bonghi, who has written another article in the *Nuova Antologia*, entitled "The Programme of the Elections," sides with him entirely. Up to the present moment Depretis has made no sign; as usual, he "lingers shivering on the brink and fears to launch away." At a Cabinet council held in the King's presence, Signor Coppino, Minister of Public Instruction, said distinctly that he would not remain in a Government composed of Moderate colleagues. Signor Depretis made no reply. He would evidently prefer forming a Ministry with Crispi and Nicotera, but these generals, who have each served to their cost under Depretis as generalissimo, decline entirely the honor of his leadership. If, therefore, he persists in remaining at the head of the Government, he must dismiss at least one half of his present colleagues and general secretaries, and make room for Minghetti, Bonghi, and other pillars of the Moderate Church. The Transformists, whose law of life is, "Be on the winning side," will join their ranks, while in the opposite camp Pentarchists, Progressists, and Radicals will unite to give battle. In order to increase his chances, Signor Depretis has decided on an *infornata*—an ovenful—of new Senators (to the amount of thirty, it is rumored). Of course, these will all be chosen from his own friends and supporters who have either been left on the battle-field, or who, by vacating their colleges, will make room for some of his wounded soldiers. To-day the few "ballots necessary" will take place between the two candidates who received the largest number of votes after those duly elected, but did not come up to half of the total of the electors. These, however, are too few to affect the results. Later on will come the supplementary elections. Some of the Liberals are elected in three colleges, *e. g.*, Cairoli at Pavia, his native city, and at Rome. As he will choose the former, there is place for a new Liberal in Rome. Nicotera has been elected in three colleges, so there are two openings for his friends. Pantano and Cavallotti have also two, and the fallen leaders of the Liberals will also "live to fight again."

One characteristic episode of this struggle cannot be passed over, and that is the double election of Amilcare Cipriani, the "galley slave." This really remarkable man is a native of Rimini, who deserted the regular army to join Garibaldi after the peace of Villafranca in 1859. He distinguished himself at Naples and Sicily in 1860. In 1862 he had a narrow escape, seven of his companions who were attempting to join Garibaldi in Aspromonte being shot to death without even a form of trial by Major Villato, who was immediately promoted by the Piedmontese Government. For some time he remained in exile in Alexandria, Egypt, and took a notable part in the scientific expedition of Miani. In 1865 he distinguished himself as a cholera nurse, and, after the war against the Austrians under Garibaldi in the Tyrol, returned to Italy and labored actively with the Mazzinian party during and after Mentana for the proclamation of "Rome, capital of *republican* Italy." In 1871, after fighting throughout the French war side by side with Flourens, killed by the troops of Thiers, he fell crippled with wounds, and was condemned to be shot on the plains of Satory, but was transported instead to New Caledonia. Amnestied, he returned to Italy, where he was arrested and tried for shooting two gendarmes in Alessandria in 1868. It was proved that the act was committed in self-defence, the gendarmes having seized and maltreated him by mistake for a Maltese whom they were seeking to arrest. Nevertheless, he was condemned by the court of assizes at Ancona to twenty-two years of hard labor at the galleys. The first jurisconsults of Italy, Ceneri, Busi, Villa, Pessina (late Minister of Grace and Justice), publicly affirmed that every rule of right and justice had been violated; that the sentence ought to be suspended and a new trial take place. This act of justice was refused, and Cipriani's fellow-citizens of Rimini, while he is languishing in the galleys, have elected him their representative in the House of Deputies. The city of Forlì has done the same. Not a justifiable proceeding, you will say, in common with a considerable portion of the Liberal party here; but there is not the shadow of a doubt that Cipriani was condemned not because in a stand-up fight of two to one the gendarmes succumbed to his extraordinary strength, but because he was an open, active, uncompromising republican.

This province of Rovigo from which I write has carried off the palm of victory for the Radicals. It was here at Crespino that Foresti and his fellow-Carbonari commenced their conspiracies against the Austrians in 1820. Five of their accomplices were hung and shot. Foresti, with Confalonieri and Silvio Pellico, was entombed within the Spielberg. Liberated, the greater part of his life was spent in New York; and, regarding America as his second country, even on his return to Italy in 1856 he never forgot the land that had adopted him. The Polesine, true to her traditions, sent out all her young men to fight under Garibaldi, and in 1866, when Venetia was liberated, Garibaldi was elected representative of Lendinara, the birthplace of Alberto Mario. But very soon the Moderates, all proprietors and wealthy men, got the upper hand, and for sixteen years, in Parliament, in the provincial and municipal councils, they reigned supreme. In 1882, after the extension of the suffrage, Mario, heading a compact band of Radicals, charged all along the Moderate ranks, succeeding in demolishing their general and substituting Dr. Agostino Bertani, the great surgeon-soldier, the man who, after Garibaldi and Mazzini, had done most and best for the creation of one Italy, free and independent. Mario died in 1883. Bertani, in the breach to the last, the dauntless flag-bearer of his party, died on the very eve of the elections, April 30, with awful suddenness, just as he had penned an appeal to Italy's greatest poet, Carducci, to stand "for Pisa, the city where Mazzini died," and another to Aurelio Saffi, urging him to lend his valor to the combatants. The Radicals of the Polesine felt it doubly incumbent on them to give battle with the old flag unfurled, and proclaimed their intention openly. On this, Moderates, Transformists, and Progressists formed a *holy alliance*. Sani, an arch-Moderate; Marchiori, Transformist and secretary-general of the Minister of Finance; Parenzo, Progressist, whose order of the day unseated Depretis; and Cavalli, a Liberal, allowed their names to be united on the same list. The Radicals chose Badaloni, a young but most distinguished surgeon and doctor, as a worthy successor of Bertani; Marin, the son of an old conspirator, soldier, fellow-prisoner of Calvi, shot by the Austrians—a mild, gentlemanly man of letters; Villanova, a young but distinguished advocate, who so successfully defended the Mantuan peasants in their late trial; Achille Tedeschi, noted chiefly for his zeal in promoting associations among the peasants. The Radicals fought valiantly against desperate odds, the allied opponents having the prefects, the mayors, the tax-gatherers, all the Government officials, wealth, power, and landed interest on their side. *They*, at least, had no doubt of winning, though many of the electors, while promising their vote "for the sake of party discipline," confessed that they should be heartily ashamed of their victory. Up to the eleventh hour their security lasted, when, like a thunder bolt falling from a serene sky, the telegraph from Rovigo flashed to every city, village, and hamlet of the province the astounding tidings: Victory along all the line for the Radicals. The morrow confirmed the tidings. At the head of the poll stood Badaloni, with 6,300-odd votes, against the secretary-general, who had little over five thousand, and so on to the end of the list. Precisely the same scene was reënacted in Milan, where Cavallotti, the democratic poet, heads the poll with 10,000 votes, with three Radical colleagues, leaving the Moderates nowhere. Rovigo, Genoa, Milan, and Rome, where the Radicals fought on the "no-compromise" platform, have reason to exult in their victory so far. It remains now to be seen what measures they will propose and stand to in the next Parliament for the amelioration of the classes neglected by all the parties who have hitherto triumphed in the Chamber of Deputies.

J. W. M.

Correspondence.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In Mr. W. J. Stillman's letter from Athens in the *Nation* of June 17, the principal argument seems to amount to this, that because the American School at Athens has not yet attained the outward form and the inward perfection which its founders anticipate, therefore it has no right to exist at all. This argument, which, if logically carried out, would exterminate the whole race of children from the earth, will be equally fatal to the British School at Athens in its early years, and is, to say the least, a very unpractical one. There is little or no real difference of opinion between Mr. Stillman and the managers of the School as to the ideal to be aimed at. Mr. Stillman's chief complaint against the School touches what is acknowledged on all hands to be its chief present weakness, the lack of a permanent director at Athens. For one, I am heartily glad to have this weakness "ventilated" and

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kept before the public attention, even though I may regret the spirit in which this is done. I have myself repeatedly called attention to this defect, first, in my report as director of the School in 1882-83, and on many other occasions since, in language quite as strong as that now used by your correspondent. My own words were:

"Our school can never aspire to the rank which the French and German schools now hold, unless it can keep a director in Athens who can aspire to be the peer of Foucart and Köhler; and it is not too much to say that this can never be secured by sending a new man each year to take charge of the School. At the end of a year, our director will always feel that he has spent his whole time in preparation, and that he is just ready to begin his work in earnest; but he must then give place to his successor, who will repeat the same experience. But until we can secure our full endowment we must be content to remain under this disadvantage, and to depend a few years longer upon the annual directors with whom the liberality of our supporting colleges supplies us."

The last sentence states the only real difference between Mr. Stillman and ourselves. He would not be content to wait patiently a few years longer, but would shut up the School, or, rather, would never have opened it. We took the more practical view, that this was the only possible way of establishing an American School at Athens; and we have yet to see a man who really believes that we could have begun one in any other way. The French and German schools have behind them the French Republic and the German Empire, both of them ready and willing to pay whatever salaries are needed to secure the most accomplished scholars as directors. We have no public treasury to rely on; but we have a resource which has always in the end proved more efficient than even imperial bounty, the enlightened generosity of our own citizens, who are always eager to show that private munificence is a better foundation for learning than Government support, and take a noble pride in maintaining the scholarship of our country whenever it calls for help. The generous response which has just been made to our appeal for a building-fund is a renewed proof of this; and when the time comes for abandoning our present temporary system of annual directors, we are sure that there will be no lack of the means necessary for carrying out a better and more efficient plan of permanent organization. For this we must be content to wait, perhaps only a few years; but if we had begun with a declaration that we could not establish our school until we had a fund sufficient to build or hire a house and maintain a permanent director, it is absolutely certain that the nineteenth century would have seen no American School at Athens. The School, under its present constitution, far as it falls short of our wishes and our hopes, has still, we believe, more than justified our original expectations; and it will amply earn its right to existence and support if it leads the way to a school in the future with a more permanent organization and with higher aspirations.

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 19, 1886.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. W. J. Stillman, in his letter of May 27, published in the *Nation* of June 17, expresses some opinions in regard to the American School at Athens which seem to me to demand, if not direct contradiction, at least qualification. Mr. Stillman says: "It is not purely on à-priori grounds that I judge the American School to be thus far a conspicuous failure, but on the testimony of the students themselves, who, so far as I have heard their evidence, have found it an utter disappointment and illusion." I fear Mr. Stillman has not taken great pains to hear the evidence of students, except in so far as some discontented members of the School may have poured their woes into his sympathetic ears. I was myself a member of the School during the year 1882-83, and derived the greatest benefit from it. I was, as indeed we all were, treated with the greatest kindness by the authorities of the German Institute and the Greek libraries; nevertheless, the library of the American School was the place where most of my work was done. The library was then much less complete than it is now, but, being open at all hours of the day and evening, it was the only available place for continued, persistent work. The meetings of the School, at which papers on various subjects were read (several of which were published in the first volume of 'Papers of the American School at Athens'), gave stimulus and direction to our work, which would have been entirely wanting had we been left to our own devices.

Mr. Stillman's comparison of the American School with the French and German schools may at some future time be justified; but at present it is simply absurd. The American students are, for the most part, graduates of American colleges, who know of Greek history, literature, and archæology what they have learned in college; that is, so much that if they were to work hard for two or three years, they might hope to take the degree of Ph.D. at a German university. The students or *Stipendiaten* of the German Institute have not only taken the degree of Ph.D., but have so distinguished themselves by their success in archæological studies as to obtain from the German Government a *Reisestipendium*, or travelling scholarship, which enables them to prosecute their studies and follow out lines of independent research. The members of the French School are of a similar character. The object of both these schools is the encouragement of original research in archæology. This is a point which we hope to reach, but have not yet attained. The primary object of the American School is, as I understand it, to aid young Hellenists, or even those who are as yet little more than would-be Hellenists, to acquire that familiarity with Greek topography and with the remains of Greek civilization, which shall enable and inspire them to prosecute their later studies with enthusiasm and success, and shall make them good and useful teachers at home. It is for this reason that the American School is called a school of classical studies, not simply a school of archæology. The directors of the School have been chosen from among the first Hellenists of this country; and, if not archæologists, they are men capable of assisting the students in the study of Greek polity, sociology, and letters. Judging from my own experience, I should say that it was the student's own fault if he failed to find the director useful.

Mr. Stillman is, however, not the first who has urged the necessity of a permanent director. Every one connected with the School has felt from the beginning that the present arrangement must be merely temporary, for, as the study of archæology gains ground in this country, it will be more and more necessary to have an archæologist in charge of the School at Athens. Such a director will undoubtedly be appointed as soon as the School has the necessary endowment; but meanwhile the School is doing, under great difficulties, work which entitles it rather to recognition and support from all true friends of Hellenic studies than to ungenerous fault-finding. I heartily concur in Mr. Stillman's praise of my friend Dr. Sterrett, and should feel as keenly as Mr. Stillman "the misfortune of losing him from the field where our national vanity, if not our national recognition of merit," might well desire to maintain him; but until the funds necessary for the support of a permanent director are obtained, the present arrangement offers greater advantages than any other. In this opinion I am sure that some if not all of the former members of the School agree with me.

Yours truly, HAROLD N. FOWLER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 19.

"NO MORE THAN HE CAN HELP."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of your correspondent's query, in the last number of the *Nation*, as to the omission of the logically required negative before "help" in such sentences as "he will not do any more work than he can help," I venture to suggest that it is due to confusion with the simpler, though almost identical form, "he will not do any work that he can help"—a confusion facilitated, so to speak, by the fact that the preponderating idea is felt to be really an affirmative one, viz.: "he will avoid all that he can," the expression of which by a comparison of inequality between two negative statements becomes altogether too subtle and puzzling for the ordinary mind. The case here is in a sense the converse of the French confusion of ideas in "you are stronger than I didn't think." But even the Frenchman says, "you are not as strong as I thought," avoiding the insertion of a second negative. It would be interesting to know whether the solecism "I should not be surprised if it didn't rain" (which I happen never to have heard), is of more than merely local occurrence.

Since the French construction has been made the point of departure by "A. H.," it may be worth while to call attention here to a peculiar Old French idiom involving a complete ellipsis of the idea "to help." In a *resverie* of the thirteenth century, for example, occurs the following:

"ja par dieu, que nous puisson,
n'i enterrez" (Bartsch, *Chrest.*, 365, 28).

I. e., "Never, by Heaven, that we can (help it), shall you enter there." The same idiom occurs in Old Provençal.—Respectfully, H. A. T.

BALTIMORE, June 19, 1886.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As to the expression, "I should not be surprised if it didn't rain this evening," meaning, "if it *did rain*," I can only say that I am assured by intelligent persons from Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, that the solecism is perfectly familiar to them. Nor can it be a recent thing, for an old Virginia lady, upwards of seventy, says she has heard it all her life.

No doubt the geographical limits of this irregular "not" might be approximately determined, in case the matter should be deemed worthy of discussion in "your valuable journal," as correspondents always say, when they desire to tickle the editor into printing anything for them.—Respectfully, A. H.

TARIFF REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The lobby has scored another triumph in preventing the tariff-reform bill from even coming to a discussion, and that in the face of the fact, which was pointed out in an editorial of the 15th in the *Evening Post*, that tariff reform was made a cardinal point in the platforms of both the Republican and the Democratic parties at the last Presidential election. So far as the people are concerned, therefore, they may be said to have approved unanimously the principle of that reform, and of course they cannot prescribe the details. Popular agitation on the subject of free trade is, therefore, superfluous and useless. The people have done all they can do towards an instalment of it, and it is Congress which blocks

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the way. The truth is, that tariff reform is not a financial but a political question. The real issue is not what articles shall pay duty and what duty they shall pay, but who is to govern in this country. The favorite and sonorous phrase is "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people"; but there can be no greater misstatement. It is a government of the lobby, by the lobby, and for the lobby, and such it will continue to be so long as Congress, having usurped all the power of the Government, remains as helpless as a child which has got hold of a sharp knife and can do nothing with it but cut its fingers.

"Oh, yes!" some one says, "we know what you mean; but what good would it do to have the Cabinet on the floor of Congress?" As that is a very important question, suppose we try to think out a little what good it would do. It is the month of December, and Congress has just assembled. It has elected a Speaker who is engaged in making up the committees, and the President's message and the department reports have been received. One morning, a few days after the opening, in accordance with a vote passed at the close of the last session, the Secretary of the Treasury walks quietly into the House, and, bowing respectfully to the Speaker and to the House, takes a seat which has been provided near the Speaker's desk. Presently a member from a free-trade district rises: "Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of the Treasury has said so and so in his report. I desire to ask him whether he is prepared to submit to this House a statement of the leading changes which he thinks desirable in the tariff." The Secretary modestly replies that the subject is in the hands of the Ways and Means Committee, but that it will of course be his duty to meet any expressed wish of the House to the best of his ability. "Then, Mr. Speaker, I move that the Secretary be requested to name an early day on which he will make such a statement, and that the question on this motion be taken at once"—or whatever the parliamentary form may be. How many members would like to vote, in full view of their constituents, against giving the Secretary a hearing?

But suppose the majority of the House was opposed to the Administration and to tariff reform, and did refuse. The work of the free-traders would be clear. Instead of beating the air with abstractions to which the people have already assented, their point of attack would be the tyranny of Congress. It had refused a hearing, not only to the official head of the finances, but to Mr. ——, a man of approved ability, integrity, and technical knowledge. They would see how much more quickly public opinion responds to personality than it does to abstractions.

The outcry of the press and the platform having warned Congress of its false position, a similar motion later in the season has been carried, and the Secretary names the 15th day of February as the time for making his exposition. It is hardly too much to say that that day would be looked forward to by the country with greater interest than any Congressional event since the war. In the debate which would follow the address, all the methods of administration of the custom-houses would be sifted and discussed, as well as the effects of complex and contradictory duties, and not improbably the evil methods by which the lobby governs the committees and the houses. As the session wears on, and it becomes evident that the intention is as usual to defeat all action, the free-traders would depute one of their number to point out the fact, and to move that the Secretary be directed to submit at the opening of the next session a bill, in full and definite detail, providing for a first step in tariff reform. During the whole summer, then, the Secretary, with all the light he could obtain from experts and subordinates, and under the impending public responsibility, would be preparing such a bill, while the free-traders would be educating their allies and adherents to support that particular bill, not as a finality, but as in the right direction, and all that could be obtained at the outset.

We might follow out the process of carrying the bill and watching its administration, but these would be subject to modification by circumstances. The benefits of the initial step would seem to be obvious enough to justify our effort in its behalf. G. B.

Boston, June 17, 1886.

DR. WALDSTEIN AND M. DE VILLEFOSSE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I enclose a letter from M. Héron de Villefosse which he has authorized me to publish. As I believe that it will finally make clear the position of the authorities of the Louvre and of myself with regard to the question raised by M. S. Reinach, I beg you to publish it in your columns.

Yours faithfully,

Chas. Waldstein.

King's College, Cambridge, June 6, 1888.

Paris, ce 27 mai 1886.

Cher Monsieur et très-honoré Collègue:

Je suis absolument étranger à l'article publié dans le journal *The Nation* de New York; je n'en ai connu l'existence que par votre lettre du 24 mai 1886. Je ne vous ai pas envoyé le Bulletin des Antiquaires; c'est une faute, ou plutôt un oubli, que je répare aujourd'hui. Je supposais que notre ami commun S. S. Lewis, qui le reçoit à Cambridge, vous aurait mis au courant de ma communication. Croyez bien que je n'ai jamais songé à vous reprocher d'avoir ignoré ma note, dont la portée était toute locale: elle s'addressait à ceux qui, en 1882, accusaient le Louvre, connaissant parfaitement la mention insérée dans le *Journal Officiel* du 22 juillet 1881. Vous avez bien raison de supposer que je n'ai pas voulu soulever une stérile question de priorité. Vous savez que le département des antiques était constamment et injustement attaqué au moment où j'ai fait ma communication aux Antiquaires de France. J'ai tenu à constater que la perspicacité des conservateurs du Louvre n'avait pas été en défaut; c'était mon droit et mon devoir. Je le faisais avec d'autant plus de liberté que je n'étais pas personnellement en cause, puisque l'acquisition avait été faite avant mon entrée dans le Comité consultatif des Musées nationaux. J'ai raconté les faits avec la plus rigoureuse exactitude, et je me permets de joindre à ma lettre les épreuves d'un article qui vient de paraître, et dont j'aurai le plaisir de vous adresser le tirage à part très-prochainement. Vous y verrez que je rends pleine justice à vos intentions, et que je constate votre découverte dans des termes qui ne peuvent laisser aucun doute sur ma pensée.

En ce qui concerne l'exposition de la tête du Lapithe dans une vitrine éloignée de la salle où sont les autres morceaux du Parthénon, vous devez vous rappeler que les marbres réunis dans cette vitrine étaient accompagnés d'une étiquette portant ces mots: *exposition provisoire*. Une partie de ces marbres provenait d'acquisitions récentes, et avait été, pour ce motif, exposée, selon l'usage, dans cette vitrine. On ne pouvait donc les considérer comme des objets définitivement classés.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous redire les sentiments d'estime que j'ai pour vous: vous les connaissez de longue date. Je regrette cette discussion à laquelle je suis mêlé à mon insu, et je vous prie d'agréer la vive expression de mes sentiments les plus cordiaux et les plus affectueux.

Ant.-Héron de Villefosse.

Je vous aurais répondu dès hier si je n'avais été pris depuis deux jours par la vente de la collection Hoffmann.

Dans votre réponse, je pense que la date 1879 doit être une erreur du copiste, car la tête n'a été acquise qu'en 1880.

Notes.

A member of the family of the late Schuyler Colfax, J. O. Hollister, has, with the approval and assistance of Mrs. Colfax, written a Life of that once prominent politician, which Funk & Wagnalls will publish by subscription.

A memoir of the late Prof. J. Lewis Diman, in preparation by Miss Caroline Hazard, is, we are glad to learn, soon to appear.

Ticknor & Co., Boston, publish immediately 'A Moonlight Boy,' by E. W. Howe, author of 'The Story of a Country Town'; 'Romance and Revery,' poems by Edgar Fawcett; and 'An Epigrammatic Voyage,' by Denton J. Snider.

We should have mentioned last week, in connection with our review of the translation of Schopenhauer, that the work is published in this country by Ticknor & Co., Boston, by arrangement with Trübner & Co. One volume of the American edition is already out; the other two will appear during the present month.

"Monographs on Education" is to be the title of a series of pedagogic papers midway between magazine articles and books in length and style of treatment, published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. No. 1 will be 'Modern Petrography,' an account of the application of the microscope to the study of geology, by Geo. Huntington Williams, of Johns Hopkins University.

It is now ten years ago since we bestowed hearty praise on the first edition of Mr. Taswell-Langmead's 'English Constitutional History' (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). Three years later a second edition was called for, and, the author having died meantime, a third has just been brought out by his friend and Oxford fellow-student, C. H. E. Carmichael. The editor has verified the text and annotated it freely, and supplied a list of authors and editions cited. Furthermore he has added several appendices on Frank-pledge, the early history of Tithes in Western Europe, the Convocations of Canterbury and York, etc. Appendix G discusses the monarchical principle in the Constitution of the United States, with the help of Sir Henry Maine's 'Popular Government,' an article in the *North American Review* by Mr. Wm. Beach Lawrence in 1880, and a Virginian pamphlet of 1884; and we need not be surprised to find Mr. Carmichael unable to "forecast with any safety" whether the supposed existing sentiment here in favor of an hereditary monarchy "is likely to be adopted as the expression of the views of a party in the United States." We counsel him, before he edits a fourth edition of this useful work, as we hope he may yet do, to make a visit to this country—and eliminate his appendix on his return.

Two readings of 'The Faust Legend,' by H. Sutherland Edwards (London: Remington & Co.; New York: Scribner & Welford), have left us with a decidedly unfavorable impression of the essay. In places Mr. Edwards's opusculum seems to show the work of a scholar measurably fitted for the task he has undertaken. In other places, however, it suggests the lucubrations of a sophomore who has been assigned the Faust legend as a theme to read up on, and who has incontinently published his notes without submitting them to pedagogical scrutiny. The pamphlet, while making some show of learning, teems with incredible literary crudities. A specimen will suffice. The author has been discussing the etymology of Mephistopheles. He has reviewed various derivations that have been proposed, and

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pronounced them all unsatisfactory. So far so good, but he then adds: "It is a pity that Goethe himself was never questioned as to the derivation of the name Mephistopheles. . . . One looks in vain for a derivation of the name to the *Wörter Buch* of the brothers Grimm. Death caused that work to be abandoned before the letter 'M' had been reached."

Mr. Andrew Carnegie's 'An American Four-in-Hand in Britain' has been reissued in paper covers by Chas. Scribner's Sons.

'The Book of Berkshire,' issued by Clark W. Bryan & Co., Great Barrington, Mass., is the work of many hands, and fairly exhaustive in its details concerning every town and district in that most picturesque of Massachusetts counties. Occasionally the minuteness approaches to a house-to-house census. The book is freely illustrated in an inexpensive manner, and is accompanied by an excellent map for the high-road tourist.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. send us a new and revised edition of their 'Boston Illustrated.'

The Smithsonian Report for 1884 has just emerged from the Government Printing-Office. It contains the usual scientific record for the year, and accompanying valuable bibliographies, with an abundance of archæological illustrations. All the gifts to the Institution here acknowledged were in objects or in services, but, as usual, there was no pecuniary endowment. A curious offer was made, however, of an indefinite but apparently small sum of money by a person who was afraid his will would be contested.

The sixteenth of the Tenth Census volumes is off the press. It is Part I. of the Reports on the Water-Power of the United States, and deals with eastern New England, the region tributary to Long Island Sound, the Hudson River basin, the Ontario, Erie, and Huron basins, the Middle and Southern Atlantic watersheds, and the Eastern Gulf slope. Views, plans, sections (as of dams), etc., are freely interspersed.

Mr. Griswold's *Monthly Index* to nearly sixty periodicals, American, English, and Continental, is precisely the sort of current guide librarians should desire to have on the tables of their reading-rooms. Any thoughtful person, however, given to the study of a special topic or topics, would be apt to find his account in "taking in" this broadside, as our English cousins say. It does measurably for him what the "bureaus of information and research" effect which furnish you newspaper clippings on any subject indicated. A glance down the alphabetized list shows if the periodicals of the last three months have treated of the topic in question, and in what issue—sometimes upon what page. The subscription price is but twenty-five cents a year. Address the publisher, at Bangor, Me.

The *Magazine of Art* for July (Cassell) returns to the subject of the menaced Charter-house, with capital illustrations of the wings, courts, and interior of this lovable old building. An illustrated paper on the St. John River will do something to draw the attention of American tourists to its beautiful shores and waters, so little known or appreciated. Some excellent engraving is bestowed on specimens of East Indian wood-carving, and process work has done its best in reproducing the Niké of Samothrace and the Hermes of Praxiteles.

The most important illustration in the June *Portfolio* (Macmillan) is an etching, by Charles Waltner, after a sketch by Hogarth, "The Shrimp Girl," of which it is the first copy in black-and-white. Mr. Beavington Atkinson's paper on Bernardino Luini is more interesting for its subject than valuable as research or criticism. Mr. Hamerton furnishes his fifteenth paper on "Imagination in Landscape Painting," discussing many things by the way, as why *old* poetry is a better stimulus to the imagination than new. He answers, because "the older the association with the experience and feelings of mankind, the more poetical everything becomes." But this is rather a restatement than an explanation. Is it not that the imagination is more stimulated by the unfamiliar than by the common and usual thing—whether it be mode of expression or of thought, mode of life, locality, scenery, nationality, etc.? An American novel, with the plot of Tolstoi's 'Anna Karenina,' should à priori be less entrancing than that story of Russian society in our day of locomotives and railway accidents. But 'Anna Karenina' in turn yields in this respect to the same author's 'War and Peace,' with no railroads to facilitate either the defence of Russia or Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, or to prevent our imagination from yielding wholly to the spell of Tolstoi's.

The Salon of 1886 is taken in hand by M. Paul Leroi in Nos. 527-529 of *L'Art* (Macmillan). In the midst of his discourse he tells with indignation of a recent slight upon the French sculptor, Auguste Rodin, by the Royal Academy, which gave him "leave to withdraw" a work submitted for the spring exhibition. M. Rodin, unhappily, does not understand a word of English, and M. Leroi found him cherishing his notice to take away his group as if an exhibitor's ticket of admission. A chapter on Wagner and "Lohengrin," extracted from the forthcoming sumptuous Life of Wagner by Adolphe Jullien, is given, in advance of publication, in No. 528. A portrait of the composer in 1857, a view of his birthplace in Leipzig, scenes from his operas, and caricatures from many sources, justify the editor of *L'Art* in making this readable selection. Among the customary number of etchings and facsimile reproductions, we remark a study of Pasteur's head on a large scale in charcoal, and two subjects from Millet. The *Courrier de l'Art* for April 30 copies from the *Débats* the Geneva letter giving an account of the exhibition of the pastelles of Liotard, the prolific portraitist of the last century, whose best-known work is the Dresden "Chocolate Girl." Mme. d'Épinay, Dr. Tronchin and his homely wife ("Que fait Mme. Tronchin? *Elle fait peur*," as Mme. Cramer said), Mlle. Vermenoux, who came near being Mme. Necker, M. and Mme. Thellusson, the latter a famous beauty, are some of the personages enumerated in this interesting and veracious portrait gallery.

The Pitt Press series of French publications is comparatively little known here (Cambridge, England; New York: Macmillan & Co.). It now numbers about twenty volumes, most of which are excellent, and the more worthy of being known to instructors since many of them are books not hackneyed as school texts. Thus we find two separate volumes by Mme. de Staël, the essay on Daru by Sainte-Beuve, and several plays of which it would be difficult to find suitable editions. There is also Voltaire's 'Siècle de Louis XIV.' in three volumes, with notes by M. Gustave Masson. All the publications have notes, many of which are very good. The last published is a very welcome addition to school classics, namely, Augustin Thierry's 'Lettres sur l'histoire de France,' containing numbers xiii to xxiv, which treat specially of the progress of the communal movement in France in the middle ages. There are over forty pages of notes by MM. Masson and Prothero, and a very clear map of France of the period treated. In point of execution the books of the Pitt Press leave nothing to be desired.

Miss Kathleen O'Meara's 'Madame Mohl, her Salon and her Friends,' with which American readers are already familiar, both as it was first presented to them in the pages of the *Atlantic* more than a year ago and in its later book form, has just been published in a French translation under the title 'Un Salon à Paris: Madame Mohl et ses intimes' (Paris: Plon; New York: Christern). It is an agreeable and faithful translation as far as it goes; but there are many necessary omissions, often of long passages which had their excuse for being in the original, but which would have been out of place in a work written for a French public. With a certain literary dishonesty, there is nothing in the volume to indicate that this is not the form in which it first appeared.

'Au Tonquin' is the title of a very neatly done, concise description of the latest colonial acquisition of France, by Challan de Belval, "Médecin principal d'Armée" (Paris, 1886). It is introduced to the public only by these prefatory words: "Je dis seulement ce que j'ai vu"; and a glance over its pages easily produces the impression that this claim of the author is entitled to credit. The little book is divided into two chapters, the first of which treats, in separate sections, of geographical features, climatology, towns and villages, cultivation of the soil, industry, physical and moral traits, etc., religion and funeral rites, government, and festivals and public games. These descriptive parts contain much generally interesting information, plainly and briefly presented. The second chapter is entirely devoted to a survey of the various diseases prevailing in the country, and includes warnings as to the proper treatment of the army of occupation. On the heeding of these the writer makes the ultimate success of annexation to depend. His prognostications are, however, patriotically optimistic.

The *Journal des Débats* of June 2d announced that MM. Plon & Nourrit were to publish on the 4th inst. a new volume, entitled 'La Littérature russe,' by M. le vicomte Melchior de Vogüé.

The Music Teachers' National Association is to hold its tenth annual meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston, on June 30 and July 1 and 2. Dr. G. Stanley Hall will read an essay on "Music Teaching from a Psychological Standpoint," Dr. Wm. Mason one on "Touch" in playing the pianoforte, and Mr. Albert P. Parsons one on "The Proper Utilization of Practice Time." The programme embraces several other papers on Church Music, the Voice, Music in Public Schools, etc. Tonic sol-fa will of course come up for discussion. Various concerts are arranged for.

—Halliwell-Phillipps writes to an American friend: "Warned by my sudden break-down last year, I have neglected correspondence in my anxiety to devote myself as much as possible exclusively to the preparation of the sixth edition of my 'Outlines,' so as to get it completed with the Index you were very properly and considerately determined to have, before I was compelled to give up. This is now done, the last batch of copy having at length been despatched; and the new edition, now in two volumes, with considerable additions both in printed matter and illustrations, will, I hope, be ready in two or three weeks. But there is a new attraction in my home here that would reconcile you and all true United States Shaksperians to a fare of bread and water. By one of the most singular accidents of the kind that have ever occurred, the original title-deeds of Shakspere's estate at New Place have been discovered in the archives of a county family in Shropshire, and have found their way — *mirabile dictu* — to Hollingbury Copse. One of them is torn, but the other five, dating from 1532 to 1602, are as perfect as when they were in the poet's own rooms. They are inestimable personal relics, that are absolutely free from the doubts of authenticity that must inevitably be attached to other kinds of domestic memorials."

—The vast scope of our national economic

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problems and their intricate nature are well illustrated by two articles in *Harper's* for July. One, the *pièce de résistance* of the number, is an exhaustive description of the domicile and organization of the New York Produce Exchange. In the course of the paper this business body is looked at from many points of view, and whether it be regarded with reference to the field of material interests it covers, or to the mass of its operations, or to the variety, elaborateness, and certainty of its routine methods, or to such adjuncts of itself as the Arbitration Committee and the Gratuity Fund, it must impress every observer as one of the most marvellous and successful creations of a commercial society relying upon private enterprise. It is, perhaps, the most complete and instructive example in this country of mind applied to business, on the old and well-established basis of individual self-interest organized in voluntary association for private gain. A little further on in the magazine is the first of Dr. Ely's "Social Studies," an introductory chapter on Railroads. In this he declares the problem of our iron highways to be preliminary to any real settlement of the tariff, coöperation, strikes, arbitration, profit-sharing, civil administration, municipal reform, etc.; and, as one reads, he begins to think that the natural conclusions to be drawn from the Produce-Exchange article must all be reversed, and the doctrine of the social utility of private enterprise be abandoned. The contrast of the two writers is hardly less in style than in matter: one straightforward, substantial, and English; the other spasmodic and veined with Continental modes of rhetoric. The remainder of the magazine is notable for a sketch of Gen. Sullivan's capture of the powder in Portsmouth harbor, December, 1774, and for a portrait of Hawthorne which, the Easy Chair writes, "Mr. Lowell thinks to be the best that he knows," and which is certainly very fine.

—The *Atlantic* continues the universal discussion by an article on the "Labor Question" by George Frederic Parsons, to whom we owe an apology for having, by a confusion of names, credited his patient paper upon Balzac, in the last number, to George Parsons Lathrop. His present essay, in so different a province, is a very conservative view, and partakes of the reactionary spirit against the working classes in complaint, which has been much more outspoken since the Anarchist riot than it was before. The writer displays a tendency towards Knownothingism, or "America for the Americans," insists on the social law of the survival of the fittest, and declares that the "laborers" had better leave off their drams before they find fault with their wages. In short, his view is that of "eminent respectability," not without humaneness, but chafed somewhat by recent events. The number, as a whole, is unusually entertaining. Dr. Holmes gives a chapter of reminiscences of his first voyage to Europe, which contrasts charmingly with the cable reports of his second visit. Mr. Hamerton begins a series of truly international criticism, since he contrasts the French and English nations for American readers; and this first instalment is frank, acute, and (one need not say) agreeable. Miss Preston treats "Ouida" to the unusual sensation (the subject will excuse the phrase) of a serious review; and "Sibyl the Savage" is a pleasant bit of artificial romance. Mr. John Fiske's paper on the "Failure of American Credit after the Revolutionary War" is written in the same readable style as the other historical reviews that have preceded it, and has the same novelty and surprising effect as those, due to his literary treatment of the facts.

—Mr. H. D. Traill, the author of 'Central Government' in the "English Citizen Series," contributes to the June number of *Macmillan's Magazine* a readable article upon "International Copyright." The first four pages are devoted to a review of the proceedings of the Berne Conferences of 1884 and 1885, and to a consideration of the provisions of the bill before the present Parliament, embodying such changes in the English copyright statutes as are necessary to enable Great Britain to become one of the States of the proposed international union for the protection of literary property. The remaining six pages contain a notice of the defunct "Hawley" bill, and of the hearing before the Senate Committee on Patents. Mr. Traill does not believe that the American public—recognizing as just the claim of the foreign author to some profit from his mental labor—is unwilling to pay the necessary advance of price, but rather feels "justified in saying that nothing now but the protection difficulty stops the way" to securing an equitable international-copyright measure. The inconsistency of the protectionists in regard to this measure is well set forth in the following paragraph:

"The real force of opposition to international copyright has for some time past transferred itself from the field of theoretical right to that of practical expediency. It has been argued that the American people get their books cheapened for them by a system which permits American publishers to appropriate, if they choose to do so, the works of English authors; and, with a comical inconsistency in a protectionist nation, that it is not for the Legislature to enhance the price of books by 'taxing them for the benefit of foreign authors.' It is amusing to turn from an argument of this kind to a copy of the United States tariff, and to count the number of articles for which the American public is taxed, not, indeed, for the benefit of a foreign producer, but for the benefit of a producer, to whose support the American consumer can, it would seem, be legitimately made to contribute in every case. . . . But when it is pointed out that the introduction into the country of what corresponds to a contraband merchandise, namely, pirated English books, has had the effect of seriously reducing the demand for the products of another very important American industry, that of book-writing, to the great loss and discouragement of those that practise it, the economical conscience of American politicians has in some mysterious way become converted, *pro hac vice*, to the doctrines of free-trade, and they have sternly closed their ears against the 'bitter cry' of the native author. Yet, with a singular and even cynical elasticity of principle, they no sooner turn from the author's industry to any one of the other industries connected with the production of literature—to the paper-makers', the printers', or the book-binders'—and the free-trade 'stop' is straightway pushed in and the protectionist 'stop' pulled out. The American publisher may import the English author's books in the sense of bringing over his written words for reprint and republication in America, but he must not think of honestly buying, paying for, and importing the book itself free of fiscal charge. That would be to attack the sacred interests of the mechanical trades connected with literature; and here, accordingly, America reverts to her normal economic policy, and protects the printers, stereotypers, binders, and others by an import duty."

—A copy of the Timucua grammar composed by the Franciscan Father Pareja was lately discovered by Mr. Charles Leclerc, of Paris, and has just been republished by the firm Maisonneuve Brós., of which he is a partner. When attending the meeting of the Congrès des Américanistes in Madrid (1881), he met with a small duodecimo volume containing eighty printed and seventy-five written leaves, all belonging to one continuous text worded in Spanish. It proved to be the 'Arte y pronunciacion en lengua Timuquana y Castellana, por el Padre Fray Francisco Pareja, etc.' (Mexico, 1614), the written part being in the chirography of the author himself. No bibliographer had ever seen a copy of the book, and of this and some other writings of that author only the title was known. Rejoiced at the recovery of this important literary treasure, Mr. Leclerc at once intrusted Mr. Lucien Adam and Prof. Julien Vinson with the editing of it. The volume will be the only means of disentangling the formidable maze of Timucua verbal conjugation, which exceeds the Cherokee and Iroquois in power of polysynthesis and complexity. Timucua seems to be extinct now; it was spoken in the peninsula of Florida as far north as the Oconee River (Oconi is mentioned as a dialect on page 88), and in its whole breadth from west to east. The text of the grammar was published by Lucien Adam, without annotations or alphabetic index, in 132 pages; Prof. Vinson has added a preface in French of 31 pages, which contains an ethnologic, literary, and historic introduction, with three texts of the language. On pp. 21-26 he also gives a short abstract of the language as far as it is reduced to grammatic rules. He thinks that many of Pareja's enormously long vocables are not real words, but "aggregations of adverbial or other particles, which cannot be called real conjugational forms" (p. 26). This is one of the points which future linguists will have to decide. The local name Machaua (p. 30) is wrongly copied *machana* from Vinson's original, for on the old maps of Florida we find only *Machaua* and *Machalla*. The terms quoted by Vinson from the authors of the sixteenth century who had visited Florida are partly Creek and not Timucua, as *hassez*, *hiatiqui*, *holata* (pp. 30, 31). They prove the presence of Creek tribes on the coast of South Carolina, where Charlefort had been erected by the French explorers in 1562. The term *paracoussi* means 'chief,' and is taken from the Yuchi language. The Timucua 'Arte' forms the eleventh volume of Maisonneuve's "Bibliothèque linguistique américaine."

GNEIST'S HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

The History of the English Constitution. By Dr. Rudolph Gneist, Professor of Law at the University of Berlin. Translated by Philip A. Ashworth, of the Inner Temple, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: William Clowes & Sons; New York: Putnams. 2 vols.

No student can read Gneist's work without gaining a new idea of English institutions. But many readers, it may be suspected, feel some difficulty in making clear to themselves the exact nature of Prof. Gneist's peculiar merit. His erudition is vast, but it is equalled by the erudition of Bishop Stubbs. His impartiality and calm judgment are noteworthy, but in these qualities he cannot surpass Hallam. His care in mastering the actual working of English politics is remarkable in a foreigner; but in this matter Gneist is inevitably surpassed by Bagehot, who knew his country and his countrymen not from books, but from actual experience. If it be said, as it may be said with truth, that the German professor gained something by surveying the English polity from a distance, exactly the same thing may be said of Montesquieu in the last and of De Tocqueville in the present century; and Gneist's warmest admirers must admit that in beauty of style and keenness of analysis Gneist falls far below his French rivals. He, again, treats of the English Constitution as a lawyer, and this is of great advantage; but it is an advantage which he shares with Hearn and with Prof. Hare of Philadelphia, whose printed but as yet unpublished lectures will one day take a high rank among the constitutional literature of the English people. Each and all of these writers have peculiar merits which Gneist cannot surpass; yet he assuredly contributes something to the knowledge of the English Constitution which is not to be found in the works of other authors. This special contribution consists in the prominence given by Gneist throughout the whole of his history to two leading ideas or principles, which afford the key to a number of the problems presented by the progressive de-

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velopment of English institutions—a development, it may be added, quite as well marked on this side of the Atlantic as on the other. These ideas are in themselves rather legal than historical conceptions, and Gneist's extraordinary merit lies in the fact that he combines, as no other writer has as yet done, the ideas suggested by knowledge of law with knowledge accumulated by profound study of history.

The first of Gneist's leading conceptions is one which in different ages has been embodied in different forms and has received different names. What statesmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries called the "royal prerogative," what a modern jurist calls the "sovereignty of Parliament," is in reality nothing else than an expression of the fact that the national Government in England has been for generations and still is supreme over every personal body throughout the state. Now Gneist, taking up this legal conception, shows in chapter after chapter that the strength of the central Government as the representative of the nation is the source not only of English law, but, though the assertion sounds paradoxical, of English freedom. This early acquired authority of the executive is, as every reader of Gneist's book sees, and as no merely legal treatise can show, due to a vast number of historical and social conditions. But (and this is the point which deserves to be emphasized) once let the full bearing be grasped of the early development in England of a central power, at once national and strong, and a number of peculiarities in the political and the social development of the country fall into their right place, and cease to appear unexplainable anomalies. To the power of the crown may be traced the early prevalence and almost unbroken continuance of a system of taxation which gave no room for the growth of that class of farmers-general who, in France, at once diminished the income of the state and increased both the weight and the hatefulness of the taxes. To the power of the crown is due, far more than might be suspected by careless readers of the current works on constitutional history, the happy failure of the English nobility to form a separate class, and the consequent fusion between the peerage and the commonalty. To the same source is due in great part both the striking fact that England went through the Reformation with far less social and political disturbance than was endured by the states of Continental Europe, and the less noticed but not less important fact that villanage was, in England, almost imperceptibly abolished generations before it had disappeared from other countries. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to assert that, before the beginning of the seventeenth century, the grievances which at the close of the eighteenth century made the *ancien régime* hateful to all France, were unknown to Englishmen; and if the relics of feudalism have never been detested in England, the reason is, that the authority of the nation represented by the crown prevented feudalism from ever reaching a noxious development. To the early power of the King, again, is assuredly due the predominance throughout the land of equal and uniform laws, and hence, also, that spirit of legality which has for ages characterized the English people.

Here we come across the second of Gneist's leading conceptions, namely, the determination of Englishmen to be ruled by law. This is a matter which many authors have noticed, but which few have understood. What is called the love of freedom, preference for self-government, the hatred of centralization, and the like, will be found to be a respect for law and a detestation of arbitrary or lawless authority. On this point Gneist has seen far deeper into English character and history than critics like De Tocqueville, who have assumed, in the face of the clearest facts to the contrary, that local administration in England is specially well developed, and that the English love of freedom means jealousy of a strong central Government. Neither in the middle ages nor in later times have Englishmen shown the least disposition to favor local autonomy, or the least jealousy of a strong ruler. The popular Kings—Edward I., Henry VIII., George III., and others—have been men who could assert their own will, and, but for the incompetent perversity of the Stuarts, there is every reason to suppose that the crown might have retained as much power under the English Constitution as is now possessed in Germany by the Emperor. What the nation has detested is a government wanting in strength, wanting sympathy with the nation, and lacking respect for the law. The political problem which tormented the statesmen of the seventeenth century was, how to combine a strong government with respect for the law which expressed the will of the nation; and if any one wishes to understand how difficult this reconciliation was, and how absolutely impossible it became that England should prosper till the reconciliation was effected, he should study Gneist's admirable chapter on the Republic, or, as Englishmen more generally call it, the Commonwealth. It consists of not twenty pages, yet it goes further to solve, at any rate from the political side, the curious problem offered by the combined triumph and failure of Puritanism than any work with which we are acquainted.

The solution is, briefly, this: Cromwell "represented the State with honor"; he anticipated under the form of a united commonwealth that "United Kingdom" which, until the time of Mr. Gladstone, every modern statesman has considered the triumph of English policy in the foundation of English power. He established a nearer approach to toleration than had as yet existed in any European state; his administration was the best that England had ever had; he accomplished, in short, the achievement of giving to the country a government which was at once strong and (at any rate, as regards foreign Powers) national. But, for all this, Cromwell and the Cromwellians were detested, and no principle is more certain than that a government which excites the distrust or detestation of all classes is untrustworthy and detestable. Gneist shows us well enough why the grandeur of the Commonwealth excited far more permanent unpopularity than did the meanness of the Restoration. Cromwell's rule was at bottom a military dictatorship. In spite of his own wish to rule according to law, his rule was essentially the triumph of the army over legality. With far more excuse, Cromwell failed as decisively as did Charles the First to reconcile authority and law. The one step by which power might have been made lawful would have been the assumption of the royal title. This was no matter of mere form. "A king of England can only succeed to a limited prerogative, and must govern according to the known laws. A protector, although with less nominal authority, has all that the sword can give him." This dictum of Thurloe's contains the sum of the whole matter. If Cromwell could have assumed the crown, he might have insured the stability by establishing the legality of his power; he would have ceased to be a dictator and have become a constitutional king, though a king with far greater authority than is possessed by a modern English sovereign. From whatever cause, Cromwell did not achieve the difficult transformation from a tyrant to a king, and, failing to accomplish this, he failed to solve the political problem of the day. He failed, also, as Gneist convincingly shows, even to establish a really effective despotism. His army kept him in power, but soldiers are not fit instruments of government, and the whole scheme of English administration, depending as it did in the seventeenth century on the willing coöperation with the executive of the chief landowners throughout the country, did not lend itself to the purposes of even enlightened tyranny. In this matter, the merits of the Commonwealth told as much as its defects against its permanence. The tone of the country was monarchical, and Puritanism itself was in one aspect a form of conservatism. An enlightened despotism gave to England benefits which Englishmen did not appreciate, and did not bestow upon them the one blessing which they did appreciate—the undisturbed supremacy of the law of the land. The Revolution of 1688 was not, as it is sometimes represented, the (so to speak) accidental triumph of inferior politicians, who, through some freak of fate, succeeded where statesmen of heroic genius had failed; but rather the final attainment by the nation of that legal form of government which Englishmen had always vaguely desired, but could not obtain at the hands either of the Stuarts or of Cromwell. This, at least, is the conclusion suggested, we may say established, by Gneist; it illustrates his general view of English constitutional history, and shows us how much this view does to remove historical difficulties which are never explained, and are rarely recognized, by even the best-known writers on the English Constitution.

RECENT NOVELS.

The Midge. By H. C. Bunner. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Burglars in Paradise. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

John Bodewin's Testimony. By Mary Hallock Foote. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

A Daughter of Fife. By Amelia E Barr. Dodd, Mead & Co.

The Last of the MacAllisters. By Amelia E. Barr. Harper's Handy Series.

The Midnight Cry. By Jane Marsh Parker. Dodd, Mead & Co.

Aunt Parker. By B. L. Farjeon.—*Lord Vanecourt's Daughter.* By Mabel Collins.—*Self or Bearer.* By Walter Besant.—*Until the Day Breaks.* By Emily Spender.—*First Person Singular.* By D. Christie Murray.—*Rainbow Gold.* Harper's Franklin Square Library.

Aunt Rachel. By D. Christie Murray. Macmillan & Co.

The Mark of Cain. By Andrew Lang. Charles Scribner's Sons.

THERE is something about an inn so irresistibly attractive to a good story-teller that he is sure, sooner or later, to immortalize one. Perhaps it is there that he has the best opportunities to observe his fellow-men, and to test that love for them without which no one ever wrote the sort of story that lasts. In laying the opening scene of 'The Midge' in the Brasserie Pigault, Mr. Bunner clearly obeys destiny. The Brasserie Pigault was only a beer saloon on Houston Street or thereabout. The Brasserie Pigault in its pristine cleanliness and geniality is no more; it has been vulgarized past recognition by the influences of an age prolific of reformers, especially of those reformers whom the author characterizes as "estimable gentlemen wandering about this broad land, patronizing second-class hotels and denouncing in scathing terms the Demon Drink." But the spirit of the Brasserie Pigault has been caught and converted by a poet into an everlasting joy for the unregenerate who still dare to love romance better than reform. The story that radiates from the Brasserie is extremely simple; it is entirely romantic in incident, perfectly real in feeling. Nothing could be further from the commonplace than the coming together of a sober bachelor like Everts Peters and the

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Midge, the child (metaphorically) of adventure and many sorrows; (literally) of a Polish actress and a vagabond British aristocrat. Nothing could be more natural to unconventionalized human beings than the affection born of dependence and trust on one side, of protective instinct on the other, which developed between these two; nothing could be more delightful than the author's manner of telling all about it. The Midge, in her childhood, may stand for vivacity beside "the Marchioness"—for piquancy, beside the little girls of such French authors as Halévy and Coppée; while she has a precocious dignity all her own. After she coils up her hair and lengthens her petticoats, she is less interesting. The author seems purposely to drop her, in order to concentrate sympathy in her self-appointed guardian, Peters. The interest of the later chapters is all in the man who deserved so much from life, who got so little, and who, we plainly see, is predestined to give up even that which he has. The end is in a way cruel; but it is the cruelty of nature, not a gratuitous stab from the author, and does not shock expectation. The only harshness for which the author is responsible is the incident of Paul Hathaway's South American escapade. It is a pity that some less jarring complication had not been devised. But this is a trifling defect in a story displaying within small compass those high qualities of imagination, intellect, and heart which, when sustained, make novelists great.

Though Miss Phelps has given the world many ingenious descriptions of Paradise, the title of her last story, 'Burglars in Paradise,' is somewhat startling to people reposing in the conviction that, in that celestial region, "thieves do not break through nor steal." It is a relief to find that the Paradise is situated on the Massachusetts coast; that it is that "Old Maid's Paradise" of which Miss Phelps has already discoursed in print. The sketch is intended to be funny, but there is not much careless jollity about Miss Phelps, and in forcing it she does herself grave injustice. She has selected legitimate subjects for making fun; there is a mine of it in the embarrassments of a lone woman who wants to buy a horse, in the perplexities of an unworldly spinster who has lost a bond and who is paying local police, State police, and private detectives to find it. The natural "funny man" would make his fortune out of such materials. But Miss Phelps is so far from being spontaneously funny that even her selection of situations with ludicrous features does not seem to be a quick intellectual perception of them, but a deliberate choice of things where, according to all laws, fun ought to be, with the purpose of producing literary effect. The result is a heavy and exaggerated pleasantry, which wears on patient people, and prompts the impatient to pronounce it largely pedantic, wholly affected, and very dull.

The funny business of 'John Bodewin's Testimony' is done by the miners of the "Eagle Bird" and the "Uinta." Like the popular rustics, mountaineers, and negroes of current fiction, they overflow with sententious philosophy, expressed in extraordinarily corrupted English. Their wise saws and surprising similes do not excite admiration; they fade into tame commonplace when subjected to the dreadful test of translation into ordinary conversational language. The fact that this coin is spurious might have been overlooked if Mrs. Foote had not cut off a source of amusement supposed to be inexhaustible. She has given us a girl from Kansas, prim and proper as a girl from Boston, and she seems anxious to convince us that this girl from Kansas is typical. What are we to do for glow, and dash, and the rapture of the irregular, if the star of conventionality has already travelled so far Westward? There is a place on the rim of the setting sun called Oshkosh. There is probably a girl in Oshkosh. Let us pin our hopes to her. It is to the propriety of Miss Newbold from Kansas, however, that we owe the story. If it had not been for her conscience, and her perfect assurance of the wishes of a woman long dead, whom she had never known, John Bodewin would have ridden away from the Eagle Bird, his evidence would have been lost to Mr. Newbold, and his name to the land and the novel reader. For he was a weak young man, for ever entangling himself with ridiculous promises, and, in spite of Miss Newbold's conscientious direction, coming out of the trial about the Eagle Bird claim in a worse plight than when he went on the witness stand. Still, he was not all to blame for that, since he was in the hands of the most eccentric counsel, jury, and judge ever imagined by a woman novelist. On the whole, the construction of this novel is so imperfect and its characterization so feeble, that one may fail to appreciate the author's graceful descriptions, or to give her enough credit for her easy, pleasant style.

It is a dangerous experiment to write two novels in rapid succession, with similar scene and characters. The second generally weakens a favorable impression, and never dispels an unfavorable one. 'John Bodewin's Testimony' is a dilution of 'The Led-Horse Claim,' and 'A Daughter of Fife' is a faint echo of 'Jan Vedder's Wife.' Maggie Promoter among the fishermen of Pittenloch is a more agreeable figure than Margaret Vedder, but not nearly so fine in conception or truthful in detail. When she leaves Pittenloch for more civilized surroundings, she ceases to be in any degree interesting, and we feel that for every reason she had better have staid "wi' her ain folk." Still here, as in the earlier story, Mrs. Barr hits off cleverly some peculiarities of Scotchmen. She knows that a Scotchman may be loyal and loving, yet harsh and pitiless towards the object of his loyalty and his love, especially if it be a woman who has departed from his own standard of duty and propriety, and who entreats his sympathy for a misery of the heart, of the imagination, of the emotions. This aspect of his character is skilfully shown in the little scene in Glasgow between Maggie and her brother, David Promoter. Maggie is the dearest thing in the world to him, yet when she bursts in upon him surrounded by his volumes of theology, and tells about the wrong done her in Pittenloch, he is simply scandalized:

"Then what will I do, Davie?" she cries. "What will I do? I am sae miserable. Do hae some pity on me."

"Do?" he answers. "Do your duty and you will be happy whatever wind blows. And as to my having pity on you, I would love you little if I gave way now to your impatience and your wounded pride."

In 'The Last of the MacAllisters' Mrs. Barr dips into Scotch history. She has well chosen those exciting days when the clans were listening for the word to strike for the last of the Stuarts. To-day no true Highlandman speaks of Prince Charlie without a tender inflection, and the romance of that most forlornly heroic episode of '45 can never be exhausted. Mrs. Barr conveys to the reader some understanding of the devotion to a name which commanded to the last the willing sacrifice of "heart and hand and siller and land and life itsel'." Though her semi-barbarous MacAllisters and roving Romanys are highly-colored, they are full of nature and life, and the plot in which they move is well knit together. Here again she has drawn one character which in its mixture of fire and caution, of enthusiasm and wary self-interest, is peculiarly Scotch. This is Fraser, the legal adviser and friend of the hot-headed MacAllister. Fraser can define rebellion and treason, and is perfectly familiar with the punishment for both enjoined by the law; so he declares that the gathering of the clans is a finable offence, and warns the MacAllister, "Ye maun break your ranks. I'll no be coerced into going for Charlie." But the ranks form and fight and win at Preston. The dark day of Culloden has not yet dawned when the news comes to the lawyer that young Donald Fraser had died for Charles Stuart. "Ah!" he says, drily, "he owes me a thousand merks, but I'm glad I let him hae them." But when he hears how bravely Donald died, the old man forgets his guard and bursts out: "I wish I had made him take 10,000 merks. He shall hae a monument, the best money can buy him, that shall he. Where is Charles Stuart now?"

In 'The Midnight Cry' there is an interesting description of the Millerite agitation of 1844. For months before the autumn of that year, several thousand fanatics were engaged in noisy and aggressive preparation for the coming of the Lord and the destruction of the wicked world. The author paints a graphic picture of the extensive disorder caused by the preaching about an event so certain to interfere with the ordinary affairs of life. She heightens it by the contrasted placidity of a Quaker community, where one of the later scenes is laid. If the construction and character-drawing were as strong as the presentation of separate episodes, the story would be an uncommonly good one. Unfortunately they are not. The author seems to have attempted a great deal and to have carried out very little. No sooner is the reader well on the track of one mystery than he is switched off to another. Just when he is becoming a little intimate with one person, a new acquaintance is thrust upon him, and, when he closes the book, he feels that he has had a surfeit of promising beginnings, but no satisfactory conclusion.

The most casual reading of the average English novel leads one to reflect that the family as a British social institution is demoralized, and that its total disintegration is more imminent than that possible disintegration of the Empire which harasses the legislators. The chief evil is in the despotism of the head of the family, generally a father, but if not a father, then a mother, grandmother, or aunt. Uncles seem to be inoffensive or insignificant, occasionally benevolent in their feeble way. Mr. Farjeon's 'Aunt Parker' is an awful example of the domestic miscreant. In the first interview with her orphaned niece, this lady shows her admirable qualification for bringing up a child in the way she should go. She shakes her violently and makes mysterious threats. The child, assuming indifference, is very speedily terrorized by a vivid narrative of the fate of the allegorical "Don't-Care." Though Aunt Parker does not seem to need assistance in the congenial business of frightening a child to death, she speedily allies with a legal guardian, a person who has all her own prominent characteristics and a definite masculine brutality to boot. Together they decide that the child is mad, and hustle her off to a sort of private asylum, apparently presided over by Aunt Parker for the mere pleasure of the thing. Here the child grows to womanhood. Having escaped idiocy, she almost effects release from her keepers. But they are too sharp for her, and whisk her to the Continent, where, in the midst of an impenetrable forest, she, for several years, subsists on husks, and dresses in the skins of beasts. In the end Aunt Parker and her pal are very severely punished, but they have the consolation of knowing that they did their duty, according to their light, by the only child whom they ever had the chance to experiment on. As the story is peculiarly repulsive, we cannot but feel that Mr. Farjeon forced himself to write it, in order to direct public attention to the crying necessity

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for the reformation of aunts or for their total abolition.

In 'Lord Vanecourt's Daughter' the monster of the hearth is a father, a peer of the realm, a gentleman of great personal beauty and of engaging manner. Lord Vanecourt's daughter is well grown before she makes her father's acquaintance. She has certain instinctive prepossessions in his favor, but when she sees him coolly permit her blind grandmother to walk into a pit and break her neck, she feels that, as a father or a friend, he is neither to be admired nor trusted. So she frankly declares, "No longer shall you be kith or kin of mine"; whereupon he smiles pleasantly, threatens solitary confinement, and mentally reflects that loneliness, grief, and despair will soon "do for" his daughter. The daughter, however, runs away, and Lord Vanecourt sets up a servant in her place, thus acquiring control of her fortune, which he very much needs. When the daughter, hearing of his ruse, returns and claims her own, Lord Vanecourt, still smiling affably, declares her to be a crazy impostor, calls the police, and has her committed to an asylum. The daughter has even a harder time than Aunt Parker's niece before she gets rid of her father, secures her lover, and comes into her own. If it had not been for mystics, Theosophists, and clairvoyants, she undoubtedly would have perished, and the world would never have known how much worse than one of the wicked it is possible for a British father, who is also a nobleman, to be.

In 'Self or Bearer,' a story that begins with a lost heir and ends with a forged check, Mr. Besant draws a picture of English *bonheur de famille* which makes us hope that the country may yet be saved. The Cronans are not absolutely abandoned to plotting each other's destruction, perhaps because they are equally poor, and the doctor can see no pecuniary advantage to be derived from maltreating his children. Then there is one really loving mother, but she is a shady person, a foreigner and an opera singer, who perhaps loved her son to keep her mind from contemplation of her numerous disadvantages. But even in this pleasant tale of innocent people the iniquitous parent finds a place. What but crime and shame can be expected from a boy whose father, a scholar and, in a way, a gentleman, brings him up on such axioms as "Despise common cant about Honor, Friendship, Justice, Charity. The world is full of creatures who live by eating each other. There is no other way to live"?

It is, however, when the British father is a rector that his tyrannical nature is seen in perfection. In 'Until the Day Breaks' there is a very fine specimen. The most amiable remark the Rev. Mr. Marsden can make to his daughter is, "I think you look rather less repulsive, Harriet, when you are sitting still than when you are playing tennis." The kindest act he can conceive of is to enclose to this daughter's husband a letter written in confidence to her mother, the contents of which were calculated to annoy the mildest husband, and to enrage a hot-tempered one. Mr. Marsden's ordinary demeanor in his household is that of a sulky savage. Many of his most disagreeable attributes are common to all the men in the story, excepting an Irish patriot. He is a radiant saint, and the obvious deduction is that the temper and manners of men can best be preserved by giving each one a turbulent nation instead of a well-meaning family to take care of.

Mr. Murray's 'First Person Singular' sustains the deduction. Here there is only one family man—a literary man with an adoring wife; and he behaves very decently. The rest of the men are Polish patriots, Russian patriots, Irish patriots, and Irish-American sympathizers—a lively, interesting, and fairly human set. The doings of these inflammable creatures are necessarily exciting, and are told with great spirit and energy. The novel adds to Mr. Murray's reputation as a vivid delineator of cosmopolitan life, and interpreter of the spirit of the world about him.

In 'Rainbow Gold' and 'Aunt Rachel' he is less successful. Neither is of his own time, or of his own *genre*. 'Rainbow Gold' is a romance, full of adventure, with many fine touches of humor and pathos, entirely creditable, but not in the author's best manner. Mr. Ezekiel Round is a very bad father indeed, but his temper is an honest, old-fashioned one. He does not abuse his son habitually and out of pure malice, but, when Job defies him, he turns him out of doors, and stamps his foot, and vows nevermore to look upon his ungrateful child. 'Aunt Rachel,' described as a "sentimental rural comedy," is still further from Mr. Murray's natural vein. It has to do with a company of rustics who utter proverbs in dialect, and who are abandoned to playing upon stringed instruments. The character of Aunt Rachel is not a happy one for a pastoral. The whole story lacks the unconsciousness, the spontaneity, without which simplicity in fiction has neither grace, nor charm, nor value.

Mr. Lang, in 'The Mark of Cain,' gives both domestic and rural themes a wide berth. He revels in crime. He scrambles breathlessly from cheating at cards to murder, from murder to abduction, from abduction to attempted assassination and suicide, and he thrusts the burden of almost all the atrocities on the shoulders of one man. All the villains of history and fiction together pale before Mr. Thomas Cranby. If he were in the least interesting, his fame would be assured and eternal; but with all his talent he is not interesting, nor is the chain of destruction of which he is the first and last link. The story is a sequence of extravagances, and the author's consciousness of the extravagance rather aggravates than mitigates the fault. To the crimes of the cheap novelist Mr. Lang has added one only possible to the man-of-letters—the irrelevant display of much reading. He gives us a chapter on the literature of flying machines and several discourses on the *woorali* or arrow poison of the Macoushi Indians of Guiana. His black-leg tells us what Matthew Arnold says, as glibly as he lays down the laws of baccarat. The author is so crammed with quotations that he cannot describe a girl with a big nose in plain phrase. Even the frequenters of the *Hit and Miss* can scarce forbear to quote. And with all his quoting, he is occasionally surprisingly inaccurate. Macaulay did not write the couplet which introduces 'The Mark of Cain,' as it is there written, and we have never before heard the crackling of thorns under a pot compared to the laughter of the *wicked*.

A Popular History of Astronomy during the Nineteenth Century. By Agnes M. Clerke. Macmillan & Co. 1886.

WHAT manner of woman is this that, unknown in scientific literature, makes her first appearance as authoress of a work which the ablest astronomer would hesitate to undertake? Fifteen years ago we might have taken it for granted that such a writer would know nothing of the subject except what she had gleaned from the writings of Lockyer and Proctor, and from the publications of the Royal Astronomical Society. But the issues of *Nature* have since opened the eyes of England to the fact that other countries are doing work in science, and it has ceased to be a matter of pride with English writers to ignore everything done elsewhere. A very slight examination of Miss Clerke's work shows that she is no mere compiler, recording impressions at second-hand, but a really thorough student of the original works of the leading astronomers of the world, and, what is yet better, able to enter into the spirit of their labors. It is difficult to see how any one without going through a course of professional training at a German university could have seized upon the ruling idea of modern instrumental astronomy so happily as is done in the following sentences:

"His [Bessel's] introduction of a regular theory of instrumental errors might almost be said to have created a new art of observation. Every instrument, he declared in memorable words, must be twice made—once by the artist, and again by the observer. Knowledge is power. Defects that are ascertained and can be allowed for are as good as non-existent. Thus the truism that the best instrument is worthless in the hands of a careless or clumsy observer, became supplemented by the converse maxim that defective appliances may by skilful use be made to yield valuable results."

Are we, then, dealing with a prodigy who sees everything from the point of view of the trained astronomer? A mere study of scientific researches does not qualify one to write their history. Every investigation must be understood, not only in itself, but in its origin, relations, and surroundings. It originated because the author and his co-workers had reached a certain stage of knowledge; its treatment of the subject is suggested by a multitude of circumstances, and it reflects the personal peculiarities of each writer. Unless the investigation is seen as part of a whole, the view of the historian will be imperfect. Moreover, a large mass of the scientific research of the day is far from being either conclusive or complete, and no one who does not carefully follow it with a professional eye can see it in its true perspective.

There are in astronomy a few tests, varying from time to time, by which the popular writer can be easily gauged. Ten to twenty years ago the value of the solar parallax which he preferred afforded an extremely easy and simple test. If he knew nothing he assigned it a high figure, and the more thoroughly he was acquainted with astronomical research, the better he knew that it was probably overestimated, and that every improvement was reducing it toward the older value of Encke. But after the publication of a careful history of the subject by Dr. Daniel Gill, about 1879, there was no longer any excuse for the ignorance which English writers universally displayed, and we are not surprised to find Miss Clerke's history accurate in all essential points. But other tests of her quality, now available, show her to be human. She thinks "there can be no question" that Dr. Huggins has photographed the solar corona without an eclipse. She thinks the rotation of the planets Mercury and Venus on their axes was determined by Cassini and others, that Di Vico in 1841 identified the markings on Venus drawn by Bianchini 113 years earlier, and that something is known of the period of rotation of these planets. She deems "Baily's beads" worth a page of mention, and finds that no satisfactory explanation of these beads and of the related "black ligament" in transits of Mercury and Venus has yet been offered. She considers the occasional visibility of the dark hemisphere of Venus to be established. She even supposes that Mr. Pogson saw Biela's comet or some fragment of it in his noted observation of December 2, 1872. All these are examples of certain ill-founded ideas more or less current in astronomy, but understood to be ill-founded only by those most thoroughly familiar with the probabilities as well as with the facts of the case. That the authoress admits them does not seriously detract from the character of her work; it only shows that her powers of judgment are not superhuman. It is only fair to add that

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there are plenty of other tests which she passes well; for example, she does not claim that Watson and Swift saw from two to four intra-Mercurial planets during the solar eclipse of 1878.

Altogether, we have here one of the best-written scientific books now in the market, clear in style, virile in expression, and accurate in statement. We have scarcely been able to find an important branch of research overlooked, which should have taken the place of any admitted. Slips of the pen must be rare, as the only one we have noticed is that the singular variable star η Argûs has recently regained much of its lost light. The most important improvement of which the book seems susceptible would be the insertion of important numerical results in tabular form, such, for example, as a little table showing the values of the parallaxes of stars and masses of the planets recently obtained. We shall hope to hear further from an author who has started with so noteworthy a production.

Hap-Hazard Personalities: Chiefly of Noted Americans. By Charles Lanman. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1886.

MR. LANMAN has had a wide acquaintance with men—poets, artists, clergymen, journalists, statesmen, all kinds; and he has a taste for minute biography, and much experience therein. His present contribution is likely to be of most use in the case of those personages great in their own day and circle, but now rapidly passing from men's memories; and compilers of dictionaries of biography may gather at last what wheat there is in this volume. Of the famous men whom he had connections with he tells us nothing new, and the many letters he prints would never have been missed. But the accounts of such men as Joseph Gales and William W. Seaton, Peter Force, Charles Heavysege, and Clark Mills have a greater value, as knowledge of them is not easily accessible, supposing there should be any occasion for extended information regarding their careers. The history of American journalism and art may hereafter be indebted to these reminiscences for some details; but, as a whole, the volume contains the sort of facts that ought to be submitted to hydraulic pressure to be of any available use.

Consular Reminiscences. By G. Henry Horstmann. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1886.

MR. HORSTMANN was Consul at Munich for over ten years, and at Nuremberg for nearly five years, and he can therefore speak with authority in respect to the trials, pleasures, and business of the office. His reminiscences contain the most heterogeneous mass of disconnected matter that it has been our lot to peruse. All that unites it is the flow of anecdote about the affairs of his multifarious clients. He finds opportunities to discuss fiddles and beer, Lola Montez, the King, the celebration of our Centennial at Munich, the Passion Play, and General Grant, at some length; the rest is a helter-skelter of personal experiences. He is, of course, a civil-service reformer, and puts in a word for that cause with the conviction of an official; but if the view of the consular duties he gives will not deter the ambitious, it is to be feared his political philosophy will be of no avail. If he had called his volume a consular scrap-bag, he would have hit it better; it is the waste-paper of his memory.

Der Korrektor. Szenen aus dem Schattenspiele des Lebens, vorgeführt von Heinrich Steinhausen. Leipzig: J. Lehmann; New York: Westermann.

CHRISTMAS literature—for this volume was published at the close of last year—is apt to be like imitation champagne: the original wine may be good enough, regarded as a simple every-day beverage, but the artificial infusion of the gas necessary to give it the proper Christmas sparkle spoils the good material it acts upon, as well as fails to produce a happy combination. But when the effect aimed at is cheerfulness and joviality, together with the passive good will, if not active charity, engendered by the Christmas dinner, with no attempt to excite any deeper feeling, there is no consciousness on the reader's part of being trifled with, such as is caused by made-up emotion and artificial pathos. 'Der Korrektor' is prettily printed and bound, and as it is already in its fourth edition, it may be supposed to suit the German taste. But it is only a very middle-class taste that could be pleased with so commonplace sentiments illustrated by a story consisting of hackneyed incidents, only connected by a preposterous series of coincidences. We suppose it is intended for ingenuous youth, but healthier food, even in contemporary German literature, might be put before them than is a tale whose pathos consists in the betrayal of the hero's trust by the friend whom he reveres as well as loves, aggravated by the latter's ruining his sweetheart; the whole ending in a reconciliation scene at the hero's deathbed, where the villain (who, naturally enough, is a materialistic philosopher) is converted from his wicked views and becomes the head of a united family; his should-be wife and unknown child having been providentially rescued by the hero so as to effect this happy transformation.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Badeau, A. Aristocracy in England. Harper & Brothers.
"Bietigheim." Funk & Wagnalls. 50 cents.
Bond-Walpole. Extracts from Lucian. Edited for the Use of Schools. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
Carnegie, A. An American Four-in-Hand in Britain. Charles Scribner's Sons. 25 cents.
Collins, J. C. Bolingbroke; an Historical Study. Voltaire in England. Harper & Brothers.
De Beaucaire, Viscount H. A Mésalliance in the House of Brunswick. Scribner & Welford.
Frary, Raoul. La Question du Latin. Boston: Schoenhof.
Gontcharóf, I. Marc le Nihiliste. Boston: Schoenhof.
Hale, W. Shore Life in Song. Biddeford, Me.: *Journal* Office.
Harris, Amanda B. Old School Days. Illustrated. Boston: Interstate Publishing Co.
Harrison, H. Life of Rev. John Barrett Kerfoot, First Bishop of Pittsburgh. Vol. I. 1816-64. Vol. II. 1864-81. James Pott & Co.
Hollis, E. B. Cecil's Cousins. Thomas Y. Crowell. $1.25.
Hutchinson, P. O. The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Compiled from the Original Documents still remaining in the possession of his Descendants. Vol. II. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $5.
Larkin, H. Carlyle, and the Open Secret of his Life. Scribner & Welford.
Le Row, Caroline B. Practical Recitations. Selections for Literary Exercises, appropriate for Reception-Days, Holidays, etc. Clark & Maynard. 90 cents.
Lillie, Lucy C. Rolf House. Illustrated. Harper & Brothers.
Lodge, H. C. The Works of Alexander Hamilton. Vol. VII. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.
Macfarlane, A. R. Children of the Earth. Henry Holt & Co. $1.
Maugras, Gaston. Querelles de philosophes: Voltaire et J. J. Rousseau. Boston: Schoenhof.
McCosh, Pres. J. Psychology: The Cognitive Powers. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.
Pisemsky, A. T. Mille âmes. Boston: Schoenhof.

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